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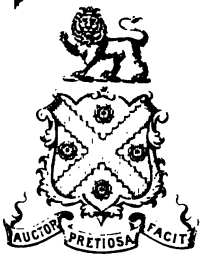

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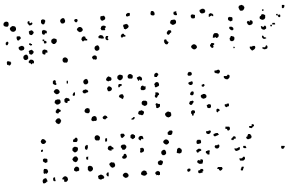
Dean of St Patrick's, Dublin.

VOLUME III.



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A PROPOSAL for the universal use of IRISH MANUFACTURE, in *cloaths* and *furniture of houses*, &c. utterly rejecting and renouncing every thing *wearable* that comes from ENGLAND *.

Written in the year 1720.

IT is the peculiar felicity and prudence of the people in this kingdom, that whatever commodities or productions lie under the greatest discouragements from England, those are what they are sure to be most industrious in cultivating and spreading. *Agriculture*, which hath been

* Upon Dr Swift's arrival in Ireland, that spirit which had been raised against him by the Whigs in England, infatuated likewise the whole populace of Dublin, insomuch that when he walked through the town, he was frequently pointed at and abused by several of the meaner shopkeepers, mechanics, and other base fellows without name or occupation. These abominable wretches, like their brethren the yahoos, would often scrape the kennels with their nasty claws, to throw dirt and filth at him as he passed through the city; all which he bore for two or three years, until the brutes became tired of their scurrility, not so much with a resigned philosophical patience, as indeed with that superior contempt for all unworthy demeanor, which is only to be conceived by the most improved and exalted minds. But these animosities having subsided for two or three years, instead of rejoicing over the miseries of that people which had without cause borne a tyrannous hate against him, he began to look down with pity on their distressed condition: he regretted the calamities of his country and the absurdity of their politics; he deplored their want of commerce, and lamented all their grievances. *At last in 1720 he resolved*, as far as lay in his power, to correct

been the principal care of all wiſe nations, and for t
encouragement whereof there are ſo many ſtatute-laws
England, we countenance ſo well, that the landlords
every where by *penal clauſes* abſolutely prohibiting th
tena

correct the errors and the blunders of his deluded countrym
and with that view he writ ſhort and lively *propoſals for the*
verſal uſe of Iriſh manufacture, &c.; on account of which a p
ſecution was ſet on foot againſt Waters the printer of t
pamphlet, which was carried on with ſo much violence, t
one William Whitſhed, then Chief Juſtice, thought proper,
a manner the moſt extraordinary, to keep the jury eleven hou
and to ſend them back nine times out of court until he had wea
them into a ſpecial verdict. But Whitſhed, a man of low bi
and narrow education, whoſe whole pittance of learning
confined within the magic circle of the laws, the doctrine
precedents, and practice of the courts, was by no means aw
by what unmerciful ſtrokes a patriot and genius like Dr S
could avenge upon him the cauſe both of himſelf and count
Whitſhed, armed with power, and ſure to be ſupported, in
virulent days of party, againſt all thoſe who adhered to th
Tory principles, firſt gave the alarm to battle by an att
upon Waters the printer. Swift, armed with genius, and fi
with a zeal for liberty and public intereſt, flew directly to
charge. But finding he had to deal with an adverſary unequa
the combat, he contented himſelf for the preſent with gi
him three or four laſhes, and making him thoroughly conte
tible in the eyes of the world. But ſoon after Swift had furt
occaſion for exerting all his powers againſt the unfortun
Whitſhed. *Swift.*

This treatiſe ſpread very faſt, upon which a perſon in gr
office ſent in haſte for the Chief Juſtice, (Whitſhed), and
formed him of a ſeditious, factious, and virulent pamphlet la
publiſhed, with a deſign of ſetting the two kingdoms at v
ance, directing at the ſame time, that the printer ſhould be
ſecuted with the utmoſt rigour. - The *Chief Juſtice* had ſo q
an underſtanding, that he reſolved if poſſible to outdo his
ders. --- The printer was ſeized, and forced to give great bail
the jury brought him in not guilty, although they had b
culled with the utmoſt induſtry: the *Chief Juſtice* ſent th
back nine times, and kept them eleven hours, until being ti
out they were *forced* to leave the matter to the mercy of
judge by what they call a *ſpecial verdict*. During the trial

tenants from ploughing *, not ſatisfied to confine them within certain limitations, as is the practice of the Engliſh; one effect of which is already ſeen in the prodigious dearneſs of corn, and the importation of it from London, as the cheaper market. And becauſe people are the *riches of a country*, and that our *neighbours* have done, and are doing, all that in them lies to make our wool a drug to us, and a monopoly to them; therefore the politic gentlemen of Ireland have depopulated vaſt tracts of the beſt land, for the feeding of ſheep.

I could fill a volume, as large as the *hiſtory of the wiſe men of Gotham*, with a catalogue only of ſome *wonderful* laws and cuſtoms we have obſerved within thirty years paſt. It is true indeed, our beneficial traffic of wool with France

Chief Juſtice, among other ſingularities, laid his hand on his breaſt, and proteſted ſolemnly, that the author's deſign was to bring in the *pretender*: but the cauſe being ſo very odious and impopular, the trial of the verdict was deferred from one term to another, until upon (the D. of G---ft-n) the Lord Lieutenant's arrival, his Grace, after mature advice and permiſſion from England, was pleaſed to grant a *Noli proſequi*. See Swift's letter to Pope, of Jan. 10. 1721, vol. 8. p. 24. *Hawkeſ.*

This piece firſt turned the tide of popularity in the author's favour.

When the author had finiſhed Gulliver's travels, he found an opening to indulge his love of politics, and to commence a patriot for Ireland: and he made uſe of the opportunity, by increaſing the natural jealouſy which the leſſer iſland conſtantly entertains of the greater. His treatiſe, or propoſal, immediately raiſed a very violent flame. The printer was proſecuted: and the proſecution had the ſame effect which generally attends thoſe kind of meaſures; it added fewel to the flame. But his greateſt enemies muſt confeſs, that the pamphlet is written in the ſtyle of a man, who had the good of his country neareſt his heart; who ſaw her errors, and wiſhed to correct them; who felt her oppreſſions, and wiſhed to relieve them; and who had a deſire to rouſe and awaken an indolent nation from a lethargic diſpoſition, that might prove fatal to her conſtitution. *Orrery.* ----- See *An excellent new ſong on a ſeditious pamphlet*, vol. 6. p. 265.

* It was the practice of Iriſh farmers to wear out their ground with *ploughing, neither manuring* nor letting it lie fallow; and

France hath been our only ſupport for ſeveral years p furniſhing us with all the little money we have to pay rents, and go to market. But our merchants aſſure *this trade hath received a great damp by the preſent fluc ating condition of the coin in* France: *that moſt of t wine is paid for in ſpecie, without carrying thither commodity from hence.*

However, ſince we are ſo univerſally bent upon en ging our *flocks*, it may be worth inquiring, what we ſ do with our wool, in caſe Barnſtaple * ſhould be overſtc ed, and our French commerce ſhould fail?

I could wiſh the parliament had thought fit to have pended their regulation of *church*-matters, and enla ments of the *prerogative*, until a more convenient ti becauſe they did not appear very preſſing, at leaſt to perſons *principally concerned*; and, inſtead of theſe g refinements in *politics* and *divinity*, had *amuſed* themſel and their committees a little with the *ſtate of the nat.* For example: What if the houſe of Commons had thou fit to make a reſolution, *nemine contradicente*, aga wearing any cloth or ſtuff in their families, which were of the growth and manufacture of this kingdom? Wha they had extended it ſo far as utterly to exclude all ſi velvets, callicoes, and the whole *lexicon* of female f peries; and declared, that whoever acted otherwiſe, ſhc be deemed and reputed *an enemy to the nation?* W if they had ſent up ſuch a reſolution to be agreed to the houſe of Lords; and by their own practice and couragement ſpread the execution of it in their ſev counties? What if we ſhould agree to make *burying woollen a faſhion*, as our neighbours have made it a *la* What if the ladies would be content with Iriſh ſtuffs the furniture of their houſes, for gowns and pettic for themſelves and their daughters? Upon the whole, to crown all the reſt, let a firm reſolution be taken

when their leaſes were near expired, they ploughed even meadows, and made ſuch havock, that the landlords, by t zeal to prevent it, were betrayed into this pernicious meal *Hawkeſ.*

* A ſea-port in Devonſhire, at that time the principal ma *in England* for Iriſh wool. *Hawkeſ.*

male and *female*, never to appear with one ſingle *ſhred* that comes from England; *and let all the people ſay*, AMEN.

I hope, and believe, nothing could pleaſe his Majeſty better than to hear, that his loyal ſubjects of both ſexes in this kingdom * celebrated his *birthday*, (now approaching), *univerſally* clad in their own manufacture. Is there virtue enough left in this deluded people to ſave them from the brink of ruin? If the mens opinions may be taken, the ladies will look as handſome in ſtuffs as in brocades; and, ſince all will be equal, there may be room enough to employ their wit and fancy in chuſing and matching patterns and colours. I heard the late Archbiſhop of Tuam mention a pleaſant obſervation of ſome body's; *that* Ireland *would never be happy until a law were made for burning every thing that came from* England, *except their people and their coals*. I muſt confeſs, that as to the former, I ſhould not be ſorry if they would ſtay at home; and for the latter, I hope, in a little time we ſhall have no occaſion for them.

Non tanti mitra eſt, non tanti judicis oſtrum,

but I ſhould rejoice to ſee a *ſtay-lace* from England be thought *ſcandalous*, and become a topic for *cenſure* at *viſits* and *tea-tables*.

If the unthinking ſhopkeepers in this town had not been utterly deſtitute of common ſenſe, they would have made ſome *propoſal to the parliament*, with a *petition* to the purpoſe I have mentioned; promiſing to improve the *cloths and ſtuffs of the nation into all poſſible degrees of fineneſs and colours, and engaging not to play the knave, according to their cuſtom, by exacting and impoſing upon the nobility and gentry either as to the prices or the goodneſs*. For I remember, in London, upon a general mourning, the *raſcally mercers* and *woollendrapers* would in four and twenty hours raiſe their *cloths* and *ſilks* to above a double

* Her Grace the Ducheſs of Dorſet, the Lord Lieutenant's Lady, is ſaid to have appeared at the *caſtle* in Dublin wholly clad in the manufacture of Ireland on his Majeſty's birthday 1753. *Hawkeſ.*

price; and if the mourning continued long, then com whining with *petitions* to the court, *that they were read to ſtarve, and their fineries lay upon their hands.*

I could wiſh, our ſhopkeepers would immediately thinl on this *propoſal*, addreſſing it to all perſons of quality an others; but firſt be ſure to get ſome body who can writ ſenſe to put it into form.

I think it needleſs to exhort the *clergy* to follow thi good example; becauſe *in a little time thoſe among the who are ſo unfortunate to have had their birth and edu cation in this country, will think themſelves abundant happy when they can afford* Iriſh *crape and an* Athlon *hat;* and as to the others, *I ſhall not preſume* to dire them. I have indeed ſeen the preſent Archbiſhop of Du blin* clad from head to foot in our own manufacture; an yet under the roſe be it ſpoken, *his Grace deſerveth as go a gown, as if he had not been born among us.*

I have not courage enough to offer one ſyllable on th ſubject to *their Honours* of the army: neither have I ſuf ciently conſidered the great importance of *ſcarlet and go lace.*

The fable in Ovid of Arachne and Pallas is to this pu poſe. The goddeſs had heard of one Arachne, a you virgin, very famous for *ſpinning* and *weaving:* they be met upon a trial of ſkill; and Pallas finding herſelf alm equalled in her own art, ſtung with rage and envy, knoc ed her *rival* down, and turned her into a ſpider; injo ing her to *ſpin and weave* for ever out *out of her o bowels,* and *in a very narrow compaſs.* I confeſs, t from a boy I always pitied poor Arachne, and could ne heartily love the goddeſs on account of *ſo cruel and unj a ſentence;* which however is *fully executed* upon *us* England with further additions of *rigour* and *ſeverity,* the greateſt part of our *bowels* and *vitals* is extracted wi out allowing us † the liberty of *ſpinning* and *weav* them.

T

* Dr King.

† In the ſpring 1753, the parliament of England paſſed an for permitting the exportation of wool, and woollen or bay y from any port in Ireland to any port in England; which was *fore prohibited.* And

The ſcripture tells us, that *oppreſſion maketh a wiſe man mad*; therefore, conſequently ſpeaking, the reaſon why ome men are not *mad*, is becauſe they are not *wiſe*: owever, it were to be wiſhed, that *oppreſſion* would in ime teach a little *wiſdom* to *fools*.

I was much delighted with a perſon, who hath a great ſtate in this kingdom, upon his complaints to me, *how rievouſly* poor England *ſuffers by impoſitions from* Ireand: that we *convey our own wool to* France *in ſpite of ll the* harpies *at the cuſtomhouſe: that Mr* Shuttleworth, *nd others on the* Cheſhire *coaſts, are ſuch fools to ſell us their* bark *at a good price for tanning* our own hides *into leather: with other enormities of the like weight and kind.* To which I will venture to add more: *That the* mayoralty *of this city is always executed by an inhabitant, and often by a native, which might as well be done by a deputy with a moderate ſalary, whereby* poor England *loſeth at leaſt one thouſand pounds a year upon the balance: that the* governing *of this kingdom coſts the Lord Lieutenant three thouſand ſix hundred pounds a-year; ſo much net loſs to* poor England: *that the people of* Ireland *preſume to dig for coals* in their own grounds; *and the* farmers *in the county of* Wicklow *ſend their turf to the very market of* Dublin, *to the great diſcouragement of the coal-trade of* Moſtyn *and* Whitehaven *: *that the revenues of the* poſt-office *here, ſo righteouſly belonging to the* Engliſh *treaſury, as ariſing chiefly from our own commerce with each other, ſhould be remitted to* London, *clogged with that grievous burthen of exchange; and the penſions paid out of the* Iriſh *revenues to* Engliſh favourites *ſhould lie under the ſame diſadvantage, to the great loſs of the grantees. When a divine is ſent over to a* biſhopric *here with the hopes of five and twenty hundred pounds a-year; and upon his arrival he finds, alas! a dreadful diſcount of ten or twelve per cent. a* judge, *or a* commiſſioner *of the revenue has the ſame cauſe of complaint.* Laſtly, *The*

In the winter 1753, the Iriſh parliament prohibited the importation of gold and ſilver lace, except *of the manufacture of* England. *Hawkeſ.*

* *Moſtyn in Flintſhire,* and Whitehaven in Cumberland.

ballad

ballad upon Cotter *is vehemently ſuſpected to be* Iriſh *ma nufacture; and yet is allowed to be ſung in our ope ſtreets, under the very* noſe of the government.

Theſe are a *few*, among the many hardſhips we pu upon that poor kingdom of England; for which, I a confident, every *honeſt* man wiſheth a *remedy*: and I hea there is a project *on foot* for tranſporting our beſt whea en *ſtraw* by ſea and land-carriage to Dunſtable; and *obl ging us by a law* to take off yearly ſo many *tun of ſtra hats* for the uſe of our women; which will be a *great e couragement* to the manufacture of that induſtrious tow

I would be glad to learn among the divines, whether law *to bind men without their own conſent* be obligatory *foro conſcientiæ*; becauſe I find, Scripture, Saunderſon, an Suarez, are wholly ſilent on the matter. The oracle *reaſon*, the great *law of nature*, and general opinion *civilians*, where-ever they treat of *limited governments*, a indeed deciſive enough.

It is wonderful to obſerve the bias among our people favour of *things*, *perſons*, and *wares* of all kinds, th come from England. The *printer* tells his *hawkers*, th *he has got an excellent new ſong juſt brought from* Lo don. I have ſomewhat of a tendency that way myſelf and upon hearing a *coxcomb* from thence diſplaying himſe with great volubility upon the *park*, *the playhouſe*, *the pera*, *the gaming ordinaries*, it was apt to beget in me kind of veneration for his parts and accompliſhments. is not many years ſince I remember a *perſon*, who by h ſtyle and literature ſeems to have been the *corrector* of hedge-preſs in ſome *blind-alley* about Little Britain, pr ceed *gradually* to be an *author*, at leaſt a * *tranſlator* a lower rate, although ſomewhat of a larger bulk, th any that now *flouriſhes* in Grubſtreet; and upon t ſtrength of this foundation come over *here*, *erect* himſe up into an *orator and politician*, and lead a *kingdom* aft him. This, I am told, was the *very motive* that prevai ed on the † *author* of a play called, *Love in a hollo*

* Suppoſed to be Caeſar's *Commentaries*, dedicated to the Du of Marlborough, by Col. Bladen.

† *Lord Grimſton*.

tree, to do us the *honour* of a viſit; preſuming, with very good reaſon, *that he was a writer of a ſuperior claſs*. I know *another*, who for thirty years paſt hath been the *common ſtandard of ſtupidity in* England, where he was never heard a minute in any *aſſembly*, or by any *party*, with *common Chriſtian treatment*; yet, upon his arrival hither, could put on a *face of importance and authority*, talk more than ſix, without either *gracefulneſs*, *propriety*, or *meaning*; and at the ſame time be admired and followed as the pattern of *eloquence* and *wiſdom*.

Nothing hath humbled me ſo much, or ſhewn a greater diſpoſition to a *contemptuous* treatment of Ireland in ſome chief *governors*, than that high ſtyle of ſeveral ſpeeches from the *throne*, delivered as uſual after the *royal aſſent* in *ſome periods* of the two laſt *reigns*. Such exaggerations of the prodigious *condeſcenſions* in the prince to paſs *thoſe good laws*, would have but an odd ſound at Weſtminſter: neither do I apprehend, how any *good law* can paſs, wherein the *King*'s intereſt is not as much concerned as that of the *people*. I remember, after a ſpeech on the like occaſion, delivered by my Lord Wharton *, (I think it was his laſt), he deſired Mr Addiſon *to aſk my opinion on it*: My anſwer was, *That his Excellency had very honeſtly forfeited his head on account of one paragraph*; *wherein he aſſerted, by plain conſequence, a diſpenſing power in the Queen*. His Lordſhip owned *it was true*, but *ſwore* the words were *put into his mouth* by direct orders from court. From whence it is clear, that ſome *miniſters* in thoſe times were apt, from their *high* elevation to look *down* upon this kingdom, as if it had been one of their *colonies of outcaſts in* America. And I obſerved a little of the ſame turn of ſpirit in *ſome great men*, from whom I expected better; although, to do them juſtice, it proved no point of difficulty to make them correct their *idea*, whereof the *whole nation* quickly found the benefit. — But that is *forgotten*. How the ſtyle hath ſince run, I am wholly a ſtranger; having never ſeen a ſpeech ſince the laſt of the Queen.

I would now expoſtulate a little with our country land-

* Lord *Lieutenant*.

lords

lords; who, by unmeaſurable *ſcrewing* and *racking* their tenants all over the kingdom, have already reduced the miſerable *people* to a worſe *condition* than the *peaſants* in France, or the *vaſſals* in Germany and Poland; ſo that the whole *ſpecies* of what we call *ſubſtantial farmers*, will in a very few years be utterly at an end. It was pleaſant to obſerve theſe gentlemen *labouring* with all their might for preventing the *biſhops* from letting their revenues at a moderate half-value, (whereby * the whole *order* would in an age, have been reduced to manifeſt beggary), at the very inſtant, when they were every where *canting* † their own land upon ſhort leaſes, and ſacrificing their *oldeſt tenants for a penny an acre advance*. I know not how it comes to paſs, (and yet perhaps I know well enough) that *ſlaves* have a natural diſpoſition to be *tyrants*, and that when my *betters* give me a kick, I am apt to revenge it with ſix upon my *footman*, although perhaps he may be an honeſt and diligent fellow. I have heard great divines affirm, that *nothing is ſo likely to call down an univerſal judgment from heaven upon a nation, as univerſal oppreſſion*; and whether this be not already verified in part *their Worſhips* the landlords are *now* at full leiſure to conſider. Whoever travels this country, and obſerves the *face* of nature, or the *faces* and habits and dwellings of the *natives*, will hardly think himſelf in a land, where *laws*, *religion*, *or common humanity* is profeſſed.

I cannot forbear ſaying one word upon a *thing* they call a *bank*, which I hear is projecting in this town ‡. I never ſaw the *propoſals*, nor underſtand any one particular of their ſcheme: what I wiſh for at preſent, is only a ſufficient proviſion of *hemp*, and *caps*, and *bells*, to diſtribute according to the ſeveral degrees of *honeſty* and *prudence*.

* Whereby, that is, by *preventing* the biſhops revenues from being let at half-value. See this poſition explained and proved in the tract called *Arguments againſt enlarging the power of biſhops*, in this volume. *Hawkeſ.*

† *Canting* their land is letting it to the higheſt bidder----*Canting* ſignifies the ſame as auction. *Hawkeſ.*

‡ This project for a *bank* in Ireland was ſoon afterwards brought into parliament, and rejected. *Hawkeſ.*

ſome perſons. I *hear* only of a monſtrous ſum already med; and if OTHERS do not ſoon hear of it too, and ar with a *vengeance*, then am I a gentleman of leſs facity than myſelf and a very few beſides take me to be. nd the jeſt will be ſtill the better, if it be true, as judious perſons have aſſured me, that one half is altogether aginary. The matter will be likewiſe much mended, the merchants continue to carry off our gold, and our oldſmiths to melt down our heavy ſilver.

A LETTER to the *Shopkeepers, Tradeſm Farmers*, and *Common People* of IRELAN concerning the BRASS HALFPENCE coi by one WILLIAM WOOD, Hardwarem with a deſign to have them paſs in this ki dom.

Wherein is ſhewn the power of his *patent*, the lue of his *halfpence*, and how far every p ſon may be obliged to take the ſame in p ments, and how to behave himſelf, in caſe f an attempt ſhould be made by Wood, or an ther perſon.

(Very proper to be kept in every family.)

By M. B. DRAPIER*.

Written in the year 1724.

LETT

* About the year 1722, when Charles Duke of Grafton Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, one William Wood an hardw man and a bankrupt, alledging the great want of copper m in that kingdom, procured a patent for coining 108,000l. tc there as current money. The Dean believing this meaſure a vile job from the beginning to the end, and that the chie curers of the patent were to be ſharers in the profits which w ariſe from the ruin of a kingdom, aſſumed the character of a *per*, which for ſome reaſon he choſe to write *Drapier*, and i following letters warned the people not to receive the coin v was then ſent over.

Dr Swift having retired from the political world, and an himſelf for three or four years with poetry, converſation trifles, (which is perhaps the fineſt teſt of a thorough conſum genius, that is above all particular ſyſtems and hypocritica tences to philoſophy), being alarmed in 1724 with freſh matt *indignation* to reſume his pen, boldly withſtood the whole of *an infamous* projector, encouraged and ſupported in his v

LETTER I*.

To the Tradeſmen, Shopkeepers, Farmers, and Country-people in general of the kingdom of Ireland.

Brethren, Friends, Countrymen, and *Fellow-ſubjects,*

WHAT I intend now to ſay to you, is, next to your duty to God and the care of your ſalvation, of the greateſt concern to yourſelves and your children; your *bread* and *cloathing*, and every common neceſſary

by thoſe who were underſtood to be the chief directors in all public affairs. The project of this impudent fellow was, by virtue of a patent which he had fraudulently obtained by the intereſt of the then favourite Chryſeis, to coin halfpence for Ireland at about eleven parts in twelve under the real value, and force their currency in that kingdom; which notwithſtanding his patent, ſuppoſing that he had made his halfpence ever ſo good, no man living was obliged, or, by virtue of the prerogative of the crown, could be obliged to receive in any payment whatever; nothing being in truth the current coin of England or Ireland, beſide gold and ſilver of the right ſterling and ſtandard; the baſer metals being only accepted for the conveniency of change, which every man that pleaſes may reject whenever he thinks proper, without being afraid to incur any penalty from the law. This whole matter the Doctor laid open in a ſhort treatiſe, the Drapier's firſt letter.

The judicious reader cannot but obſerve, that in this letter the author hath adapted his ſtyle, his phraſes, his humour, and his addreſs in a very wonderful manner to the taſte and apprehenſion of the populace. Neither indeed is the title-page wholly void of that captivating rhetoric which is admired by the common people; for it concludes like that of the whole duty of man, *Very proper to be kept in every family.* Swift.

The firſt five of the Drapier's letters were publiſhed in pamphlets at different times. The ſixth and ſeventh were firſt publiſhed in 1735, in the 4th volume of the Dublin edition of Dr Swift's works.

ſary of life entirely depend upon it. Therefore earneſtly exhort you as *men*, as *Chriſtians*, as *p* as *lovers of your country*, to read this paper w

The ſixth and ſeventh of the Drapier's letters we from a friend of the author's in the original manu are aſſured, and have good reaſon to believe: thoſe ter judges, will ſoon determine whether they are ge It is the opinion of ſeveral wiſe men, that the Drap and the other writings relating to our poor countr may be very uſeful to poſterity, by warning them ture to oppoſe the ſame, or the like evil deſigns, hc ſible they may at firſt appear to unthinking people; artfully they may be repreſented (like this deſtructi William Wood) by thoſe who were to divide the ſp impoſtor; or, laſtly, by proſtitute flatterers, wl to find their private account in the ruin of the king ruin would have certainly followed, if the author, was, had not publiſhed his letters in the moſt proj and fitted to all ſorts of readers; whereby in t months he turned the whole nation, almoſt to a that iniquitous ſcheme.------The letter to the Lor Midleton is written with much caution, becauſe the feſſes himſelf to be Dean of St Patrick's; and I cc his name ſubſcribed at the end of the original, alth out by ſome other hand. I can give no other r was not printed, than what I have heard; that th ing how effectually the Drapier had ſucceeded, and time how highly the people in power ſeemed to l thought it more prudent to keep the paper in his There is but a ſmall part of the addreſs to both hou ment that relateth to Wood and his coin. The ſeveral propoſals for the improvement of Ireland, tl couragements it lies under, and what are the beſt gainſt them.------By many paſſages in the other particularly in the *addreſs*, concerning the great dra from Ireland, by abſentees, importation of foreign g of trade, and the like, it appears that the author hac pains, and been well informed in the buſineſs of co his reaſonings upon that ſubject, although he does to particular ſums, agreeing generally with the ac by others, who have ſince made that inquiry th ſtudy. And it is obſervable, that in the *addreſs*, one of the other letters, he hath ſpecified ſeveral i *ticles, that* have not been taken notice of by other *after him. Dub. edit.*

moſt attention, or get it read to you by others: which that you may do at the leſs expenſe, I have ordered the *printer* to ſell it at the loweſt rate.

It is a great fault among you, that, when a perſon writes with no other intention than *to do you good, you will not be at the pains to read his advices.* One copy of this paper may ſerve a dozen of you, which will be leſs than a farthing apiece. It is your folly, that you have no common or general intereſt in your view, not even the wiſeſt among you; neither do you know, or inquire, or care, who are your friends, or who are your enemies.

About four years ago a little book was written to adviſe all people to wear the *manufactures of this our own dear country* *. It had no other deſign, ſaid nothing againſt the *King or parliament*, or any perſon whatſoever; yet the poor *printer* was proſecuted two years with the utmoſt violence, and even ſome *weavers* themſelves, (for whoſe ſake it was written), being upon the JURY, *found him guilty.* This would be enough to diſcourage any man from endeavouring to do you good, when you will either neglect him, or fly in his face for his pains; and when he muſt expect only *danger to himſelf*, and to be fined and impriſoned, perhaps to his ruin.

However, I cannot but warn you once more of the manifeſt deſtruction before your eyes, if you do not behave yourſelves as you ought.

I will therefore firſt tell you the *plain ſtory of the fact*; and then I will lay before you how you ought to act, in common prudence, according to the *laws of your country.*

The *fact* is this: It having been many years ſince COPPER HALFPENCE OR FARTHINGS were laſt coined in this kingdom, they have been for ſome time very ſcarce, and many *counterfeits* paſſed about under the name of *raps:* ſeveral applications were made to England, that we might have liberty to *coin new ones*, as in former times we did; but they did not ſucceed. At laſt one Mr WOOD, *a mean ordinary man, a hardware-dealer*, procured a *patent* under his *Majeſty's broad ſeal* to coin 108,000 *l.* in *copper* for this *kingdom;* which patent, however, did

* *A propoſal for the uſe of* Iriſh manufactures.

not oblige any one here to take them, unleſs they pleaſed. Now, you muſt know, that the *halfpence* and *farthings* in England paſs for very little more than they are worth: and, if you ſhould beat them to pieces, and ſell them to the *brazier*, you would not loſe much above a penny in a ſhilling. But Mr Wood made his *halfpence* of ſuch *baſe metal*, and ſo much ſmaller than the Engliſh ones, that the *brazier* would hardly give you above a *penny* of good money for a *ſhilling* of his; ſo that this ſum of 108,000*l.* in good gold and ſilver muſt be given for *traſh*, that will not be worth above *eight* or *nine thouſand pounds* real value. But this is not the worſt; for Mr Wood, when he pleaſes, may by ſtealth ſend over another 108,000*l.* and *buy all our goods for eleven parts in twelve* under the value. For example, if a *hatter* ſells a dozen of *hats* for *five ſhillings* apiece, which amounts to *three pounds*, and receives the payment in Wood's coin, he really receives only the value of *five ſhillings*.

Perhaps, you will wonder how ſuch an *ordinary fellow*, as this Mr Wood, could have ſo much intereſt as to get his MAJESTY's broad ſeal for ſo great a ſum of bad money to be ſent to this poor country; and that all the *nobility* and *gentry* here could not obtain the ſame favour, and let us make our own *halfpence*, as we uſed to do. Now, I will make that matter very plain: We are at a great diſtance from the King's *court*, and have no body there to ſolicit for us, although a great number of *lords* and *'ſquires*, whoſe eſtates are here, and are our countrymen, ſpend all their *lives* and *fortunes* there: but this ſame Mr Wood was able to attend conſtantly for his own intereſt; he is an Engliſhman, and had great friends, and it ſeems knew very well *where to give money* to thoſe that would ſpeak to others, that could ſpeak to the *King*, and would tell a *fair ſtory*. And *his Majeſty*, and perhaps the great lord or lords who adviſed him, might think it was for our *country's good*; and ſo, as the lawyers expreſs it, the *King* was deceived in his grant, which often happens in all reigns. And I am ſure if *his Majeſty* knew that ſuch a patent, if it ſhould take effect according to the deſire of Mr Wood, would utterly ruin this kingdom, which hath given ſuch *great proofs* of its *loyalty*, he would immediately recall it,

and

and perhaps ſhew his diſpleaſure to *ſome body* or *other*: but a *word to the wiſe is enough*. Moſt of you muſt have heard with what anger our *Honourable houſe of Commons* received an account of this Wood's *patent*. There were ſeveral *fine ſpeeches* made upon it, and plain proofs, that it was all a *wicked cheat* from the *bottom* to the *top*; and ſeveral *ſmart votes* were printed, which that ſame Wood had the aſſurance to anſwer likewiſe in *print*, and in ſo confident a way, as if he were a *better man* than our *whole parliament* put together.

This Wood, as ſoon as his *patent* was paſſed, or ſoon after, ſends over a great many *barrels of thoſe halfpence* to Cork, and other ſea-port *towns*, and to get them off offered an *hundred pounds* in his coin for *ſeventy* or *eighty* in ſilver: but the *collectors* of the *King*'s cuſtoms very honeſtly refuſed to take them, and ſo did almoſt every body elſe. And ſince the parliament hath condemned them, and deſired the *King* that they might be ſtopped, all the kingdom do abominate them.

But Wood is ſtill working underhand to force his *halfpence* upon us; and if he can, by the help of his friends in England, prevail ſo far as to get an order, that the *commiſſioners* and *collectors* of the *King*'s money ſhall receive them, and that the *army* is to be paid with them, then he thinks *his work* ſhall be *done*. And this is the difficulty you will be under in ſuch a caſe: for the common ſoldier, when he goes to the *market*, or *alehouſe*, will offer this money; and, if it be refuſed, perhaps he will *ſwagger* and *hector*, and threaten to beat the *butcher*, or *ſlewiſe*, or take the goods by force, and throw them the bad *halfpence*. In this and the like caſes, the *ſhopkeeper*, or *victualler*, or any other *tradeſman*, has no more to do, than to demand ten times the price of his goods, if it is to be paid in Wood's money; for example, twenty pence of that money for a *quart of ale*, and ſo in all things elſe, and not part with his goods till he gets the money.

For ſuppoſe you go to an *alehouſe* with that baſe money, and the *landlord* gives you a quart for four of thoſe *halfpence*, what muſt the *victualler* do? his *brewer* will not be paid in that coin, or if the *brewer* ſhould be ſuch a fool, the *farmers will* not take it from them for their

here *, becauſe they are bound, by their leaſes, to pay thei rents in good and lawful money of England, which thi is not, nor of Ireland neither, and the *'ſquire*, their land lord, will never be ſo bewitched to take ſuch *traſh* fo his land; ſo that it muſt certainly ſtop ſomewhere or o ther, and where-ever it ſtops, it is the ſame thing, and w are all undone.

The common weight of theſe *halfpence* is between fou and five to an ounce; ſuppoſe five, then three ſhillings an four pence will weigh a pound, and conſequently twent ſhillings will weigh ſix pounds *butter weight*. Now, thei are many hundred *farmers*, who pay two hundred poun a-year rent; therefore when one of theſe *farmers* com with his half-year's rent, which is one hundred pounds, will be at leaſt ſix hundred pound weight, which is thr horſes load.

If a *'ſquire* has a mind to come to town to buy cloath and wine, and ſpices for himſelf and family, or perha to paſs the winter here, he muſt bring with him five or ſ horſes loaden with *ſacks*, as the farmers bring their corn and; when his lady comes in her coach to our ſhops, muſt be followed by a car loaded with Mr Wood's m ney. And I hope we ſhall have the grace to take it for more than it is worth.

They ſay 'Squire Conolly † hath *ſixteen* thouſand poun a year; now if he ſends for his *rent* to town, as it is like he doth, he muſt have two hundred and fifty *horſes* bring up his half-year's *rent*, and two or three great c lars in his houſe for ſtowage. But what the *bankers* w do, I cannot tell: for I am aſſured, that ſome gr *bankers* keep by them forty thouſand pounds ready c to anſwer all payments: which ſum, in Mr Woo money, would require twelve hundred horſes to ca it.

For my own part, I am already reſolved what to d I have a pretty good ſhop of Iriſh ſtuffs and *ſilks*, and ſtead of taking Mr Wood's bad copper, I intend to tru with my neighbours the *butchers*, and *bakers*, and *brewe*

* A ſort of barley in Ireland.

† *Then Speaker* of the houſe of Commons.

and the reſt, *goods* for *goods*; and the little *gold* and *ſilver* I have, I will keep by me, like my heart's blood, till better times, or until I am juſt ready to ſtarve, and then I will buy Mr Wood's money, as my father did the braſs money in King James's time, who could buy *ten* pounds of it with a *guinea*; and I hope to get as much for a *piſtole*, and ſo purchaſe *bread* from thoſe who will be ſuch fools as to ſell it me.

Theſe *halfpence*, if they once paſs, will ſoon be *counterfeited*, becauſe it may be cheaply done, the *ſtuff* is ſo *baſe*. The Dutch likewiſe will probably do the ſame thing, and ſend them over to us to pay for our *goods*; and Mr Wood will never be at reſt, but coin on; ſo that in ſome years we ſhall have at leaſt five times 108,000*l*. of this *lumber*. Now, the current money of this kingdom is not reckoned to be above four hundred thouſand pounds in all; and while there is a *ſilver* ſixpence left, theſe *bloodſuckers* will never be quiet.

When once the *kingdom* is reduced to ſuch a condition, I will tell you what muſt be the end: the *gentlemen of eſtates* will all turn off their *tenants* for want of payments, becauſe, as I told you before, the *tenants* are obliged by their leaſes to pay *Sterling*, which is lawful current money of England: then they will turn their own *farmers*, as too many of them *do already*; run *all* into *ſheep*, where they can, keeping only ſuch other cattle as are neceſſary; then they will be their own *merchants*, and ſend their *wool*, and *butter*, and *hides*, and *linen* beyond ſea for ready *money*, and *wine*, and *ſpices*, and *ſilks*. They will keep only a few miſerable *cottagers*: the *farmers* muſt *rob*, or *beg*, or *leave* their country; the *ſhopkeepers* in this and every other town muſt *break* and *ſtarve*; for it is the *landed man* that maintains the *merchant*, and *ſhopkeeper*, and *handicraftſman*.

But when the *'ſquire* turns *farmer* and *merchant* himſelf, all the good money he gets from abroad, he will hoard up to ſend for England, and keep ſome poor *tailor* or *weaver* and the like in his own houſe, who will be glad to get bread at any rate.

I ſhould never have done, if I were to tell you all the miſeries *that we ſhall* undergo, if we be ſo *fooliſh* and wicked

wicked as to take this *curſed coin.* It would be ver hard, if all Ireland ſhould be put into *one ſcale*, and th ſorry fellow Wood into the other; that Mr Wood ſhou weigh down this *whole kingdom*, by which England ge above a million of good money every year clear into the *pockets*; and that is more than the Engliſh do by *all t world* beſides.

But your *great comfort* is, that as his Majeſty's *pate* doth not oblige you to take this *money*, ſo the *laws* ha not given the *crown* a power of forcing the *ſubject* to tal what *money* the *King* pleaſes; for then, by the ſame re ſon, we might be bound to take *pebble-ſtones*, or *cockl ſhells*, or *ſtamped leather*, for *current coin*, if ever v ſhould happen to live under an ill *prince*, who might lik wiſe, by the ſame power, make a *guinea* paſs for *t pounds*, a *ſhilling* for *twenty ſhillings*, and ſo on; l which he would, in a ſhort time, get all the *ſilver* a *gold* of the *kingdom* into his own hands, and leave us n thing but *braſs* or *leather*, or what he pleaſed. Neith is any thing reckoned more *cruel* and *oppreſſive* in t French government, than their common practice of callin in all their money, after they have ſunk it very low, a then coining it anew at a much higher value; whic however, is not the thouſandth part ſo wicked as this *a eminable project* of Mr Wood. For the French gi their ſubjects *ſilver* for *ſilver*, and *gold* for *gold*; but th *fellow* will not ſo much as give us good *braſs* or *copp* for our *gold* and *ſilver*, nor even a twelfth part of the worth.

Having ſaid this much, I will now go on to tell youth judgment of ſome great *lawyers* in this matter; whom fee'd on purpoſe for your ſakes, and got their *opinio* under their *hands*, that I might be ſure I went upon goo grounds.

A famous law-book, *called the* Mirrour of juſtice, *di courſing of the charters (or laws) ordained by our* ancie kings, *declares the law to be as follows. It was ordaine That no* king *of this realm ſhould change or impair t* money, *or make any other* money *than of* gold *or* ſilve *witho*

without the aſſent of all the counties; that is, as my Lord Coke * *ſays, without the aſſent of* parliament.

This book is very ancient, and of great authority for the time in which it was written, and with that character is often quoted by that great lawyer *my Lord* Coke †. By the laws of England ſeveral metals are divided into *lawful* or *true metal*, and *unlawful* or *falſe metal*; the former comprehends *ſilver* or *gold*, the latter all *baſer metals*. That the former is only to paſs in payments, appears by an act of *parliament* ‡ made the twentieth year of Edward *the Firſt*, called, *The ſtatute concerning the paſſing of pence*; which I give you here as I got it tranſlated into Engliſh; for ſome of our *laws* at that time were, as I am told, written in *Latin*: *Whoever in buying or ſelling preſumes to refuſe an halfpenny or farthing of lawful money, bearing the ſtamp which it ought to have, let him be ſeized on as a contemner of the King's Majeſty, and caſt into priſon.*

By this *ſtatute*, no perſon is to be reckoned a *contemner* of the *King's Majeſty*, and for that crime to be *committed to priſon*, but he who refuſeth to accept the King's coin made of *lawful metal*; by which, as I obſerved before, *ſilver* and *gold* only are intended.

That this is the true *conſtruction* of the *act*, appears not only from the plain meaning of the words, but from my Lord Coke's ‖ obſervation upon it. By this act (ſays he) it appears, that no ſubject can be forced to take in *buying*, or *ſelling*, or other *payment*, any money made but of *lawful metal*; that is, of *ſilver* or *gold*.

The law of England gives the King all mines of *gold* and *ſilver*; but not the mines of other *metals*; the reaſon of which *prerogative* or *power*, as it is given by my Lord Coke **, is becauſe money can be made of *gold* and *ſilver*, but not of other *metals*.

Purſuant to this opinion, *halfpence* and *farthings* were anciently made of *ſilver*, which is evident from the act of *parliament* of Henry the Fourth, chap. 4. whereby it is

* 1 Inſt. 576.
† 2 Inſt. 576. 7.
‡ 2 Inſt. 577.
‖ 2 Inſt. 577.
** 2 Inſt. 577.

enacted

enacted as follows: *Item, for the great ſcarcity t at preſent within the realm of* England *of halfpenc farthings of* ſilver, *it is ordained and eſtabliſhed, th third part of all the* money *of* ſilver plate *which ſh brought to the* bullion, *ſhall be made into* halfpenc farthings. This ſhews, that by the words *halfpen farthing* of lawful money in that *ſtatute* concernir *paſſing* of pence, is meant a ſmall coin in *halfpenc farthings* of *ſilver.*

This is further manifeſt from the ſtatute of the year of Edward the Third, chap. 3. which enacts, *no Sterling* halfpenny *or* farthing *be molten for to veſſels, or any other thing by the* goldſmiths, *nor upon the forfeiture of the* money *ſo molten (or melt*

By another act in this King's reign, *black money* w to be current in England. And, by an act made eleventh year of his reign, chap. 5. *galley-halfpenc* not to paſs: what kind of coin theſe were, I do not l but I preſume they were made of *baſe metal.* And acts were no new *laws,* but further declarations of t *laws* relating to the coin.

Thus the *law* ſtands in relation to *coin.* Nor is any example to the contrary, except one in Davi *ports,* who tells us, that, in the time of Tyrone's lion, Queen Eliſabeth ordered *money* of *mixed meta* coined in the tower of London, and ſent over hith the payment of the *army,* obliging all people to rece and commanding that all *ſilver money* ſhould be take as *bullion;* that is, for as much as it weighed. Dav us ſeveral particulars in this matter, too long here to ble you with, and that the *privy council* of this ki obliged a *merchant* in England to receive this *mixed* for goods tranſmitted hither.

But this proceeding is rejected by all the beſt la as contrary to law, the *privy council* here having n legal power. And, beſides, it is to be conſidered the QUEEN was then under great difficulties by a *lion* in this *kingdom* aſſiſted from Spain; and what done in great exigencies and dangerous times, ſhould be an example to proceed by in ſeaſons of *peace* and *reſt.*

I will now, my dear friends, to ſave you the trouble, ſet before you in ſhort, what the *law* obliges you to do, and what it does not oblige you to.

Firſt, You are obliged to take all money in payments which is coined by the *King*, and is of the Engliſh ſtandard or weight, provided it be of *gold* or *ſilver*.

Secondly, You are not obliged to take any money which is not of *gold* or *ſilver*; not only the *halfpence* or *farthings* of England, but of any other country. And it is merely for convenience, or eaſe, that you are content to take them; becauſe the cuſtom of coining ſilver *halfpence* and *farthings* hath long been left off; I ſuppoſe on account of their being ſubject to be loſt.

Thirdly, Much leſs are we obliged to take thoſe *vile halfpence* of that ſame Wood, by which you muſt loſe almoſt eleven pence in every ſhilling.

Therefore, my friends, ſtand to it one and all: refuſe this *filthy traſh*. It is no treaſon to rebel againſt Mr Wood. His *Majeſty*, in his patent, obliges nobody to take theſe *halfpence*: our *gracious prince* hath no ſuch ill adviſers about him; or, if he had, yet you ſee, the laws have not left it in the *King's* power to force us to take any coin but what is lawful, of right ſtandard, *gold* and *ſilver*. Therefore you have nothing to fear.

And let me, in the next place, apply myſelf particularly to you, who are the poorer ſort of *tradeſmen*. Perhaps you may think, you will not be ſo great loſers as the rich, if theſe *halfpence* ſhould paſs; becauſe you ſeldom ſee any *ſilver*, and your cuſtomers come to your ſhops or ſtalls with nothing but *braſs*, which you likewiſe find hard to be got. But you may take my word, whenever this money gains footing among you, you will be utterly undone. If you carry theſe *halfpence* to a ſhop for *tobacco*, or *brandy*, or any other thing that you want; the ſhopkeeper will advance his goods accordingly, or elſe he muſt break, and leave the *key under the door*. *Do you think I will ſell you a yard of tenpenny ſtuff for* twenty *of Mr* Wood's *halfpence? No, not under* two hundred *at leaſt; neither will I be at the trouble of counting, but weigh them in a lump.* I will tell you one thing further, that if Mr *Wood's project ſhould take*, it would ruin even our beggars:

beggars; for when I give a *beggar* a halfpenny, it wil quench his thirſt, or go a good way to fill his belly but the twelfth part of a halfpenny will do him no mor ſervice, than if I ſhould give him three pins out of m ſleeve.

In ſhort, theſe *halfpence* are like the *accurſed thing* which, as the *ſcripture* tells us, *the children of* Iſrae were forbidden to *touch*. They will run about *like th plague, and deſtroy every one who lays his hands upo them.* I have heard *ſcholars* talk of a man who told th King, that he had invented a way to torment people b putting them into a *bull of braſs* with fire under it: bu the *prince* put the *projector* firſt into his *brazen bull* t make the experiment. This very much reſembles th *project* of Mr Wood; and the like of this may poſſibly b Mr Wood's fate; that the *braſs* he contrived to torme this kingdom with, may prove his own torment, and h deſtruction at laſt.

N. B. The author of this paper is informed by perſo who have made it their buſineſs to be exact in their obſe vations on the true value of theſe *halfpence*, that any pe ſon may expect to get a quart of *twopenny ale* for *thirt ſix* of them.

I deſire that all *families* may keep this paper carefull by them to refreſh their memories, whenever they ſha have farther notice of Mr Wood's halfpence, or any o ther the like impoſture *.

* At the ſound of the *Drapier's* trumpet, a ſpirit aroſe amon the people, that, in the eaſtern phraſe, was *like unto a tempeſt i the day of the whirlwind.* Every perſon of every rank, party and denomination, was convinced, that the admiſſion of Wood copper muſt prove fatal to the commonwealth. The Papiſt, th Fanatic, the Tory, the Whig, all liſted themſelves voluntee under the banner of *M. B. Drapier*, and were all equally zealou to ſerve the common cauſe. Much heat, and many fiery ſpeeche againſt the adminiſtration, were the conſequence of this union nor had the flames been allayed, notwithſtanding threats and pro clamations, had not the coin been totally ſuppreſſed, and had no Wood withdrawn his patent. *Orrery.* See the note at the end o *letter 5.*

LETTER II.

A LETTER to Mr HARDING the printer, upon occaſion of a paragraph in his news-paper of Auguſt 1. 1724, relating to Mr WOOD's HALFPENCE.

IN your news-letter of the 1ſt inſtant there is a paragraph, dated from London, July 25. relating to Wood's halfpence; whereby it is plain, what I foretold in my *letter to the ſhopkeepers, &c.* that this vile fellow would never be at reſt; and that the danger of our ruin approaches nearer; and therefore the kingdom requires *new* and *freſh warning* However, I take this paragraph to be, in a great meaſure, an impoſition upon the public; at leaſt I hope ſo, becauſe I am informed that Wood is generally his own news-writer. I cannot but obſerve from that paragraph, that this public enemy of ours, not ſatisfied to ruin us with his *traſh*, takes every occaſion to treat this kingdom with the utmoſt contempt. He repreſents *ſeveral of our merchants and traders upon examination before a committee of council, agreeing, that there was the utmoſt neceſſity of copper money here, before his patent; ſo that ſeveral gentlemen have been forced to tally with their workmen, and give them bits of cards ſealed and ſubſcribed with their names.* What then? If a phyſician preſcribe to a patient a *dram* of phyſic, ſhall a raſcal-apothecary cram him with a *pound*, and mix it up with *poiſon?* and is not a landlord's hand and ſeal to his own labourers a better ſecurity for five or ten ſhillings, than Wood's braſs, ten times below the real value, can be to the kingdom for an hundred and eight thouſand pounds?

But who are theſe *merchants and traders of Ireland* that made this report *of the utmoſt neceſſity we are under for copper money?* they are only a few betrayers of their

country, confederates with Wood, from whom they are purchaſe a great quantity of his coin, perhaps at half price that we are to take it, and vend it among us, to ruin of the public, and their own private advantages. not theſe excellent witneſſes, upon whoſe integrity the of the kingdom muſt depend, evidences in their own cau and ſharers in this work of iniquity?

If we could have deſerved the liberty of coining for o ſelves, as we formerly did, and why we have it not, *i very body's wonder as well as mine*, ten thouſand pou might have been coined here in Dublin of only one fifth low the intrinſic value, and this ſum, with the ſtock halfpence we then had, would have been ſufficient; Wood, by his emiſſaries, enemies to GOD and this ki dom, hath taken care to buy up as many of our old h pence as he could; and from thence the preſent want change ariſes; to remove which by Mr Wood's reme would be to cure a ſcratch on the finger by cutting off arm. But ſuppoſing there were not one farthing of cha in the whole nation, I will maintain, that five and twe thouſand pounds would be a ſum fully ſufficient to anſ all our occaſions. I am no inconſiderable ſhopkeeper in t town; I have diſcourſed with ſeveral of my own, and ther trades, with many gentlemen both of city and co try, and alſo with great numbers of farmers, cottage and labourers, who all agree, that two ſhillings in cha for every family would be more than neceſſary in all de ings. Now, by the largeſt computation (even before t grievous diſcouragement of *agriculture* *, which hath much leſſened our numbers) the ſouls in this kingdom computed to be one million and a half; which, allow ſix to a family, makes two hundred and fifty thouſand milies, and conſequently two ſhillings to each family amount only to five and twenty thouſand pounds; whe as this *honeſt*, *liberal*, *hardwareman*, Wood, would poſe upon us above *four times* that ſum.

Your paragraph relates further, that Sir Iſaac New reported an *aſſay* taken at the Tower of Wood's me by which it appears, that Wood had *in all reſpects perfor*

* *Perhaps the* prohibition from ploughing. See p. 7.

contract. His contract! with whom? was it with parliament or people of Ireland? are not they to be purchasers? but they deteſt, abhor, and reject it as ipt, fraudulent, mingled with dirt and aſh. Upon n he grows angry, goes to law, and will impoſe his s upon us by force."

t your news letter ſays, that an *aſſay* was made of coin. How impudent and inſupportable is this! d takes care to coin a dozen or two halfpence of good , ſends them to the Tower, and they are approved, heſe muſt anſwer all that he hath already coined, or coin for the future. It is true, indeed, that a gen- n often ſends to my ſhop for a pattern of ſtuff; I cut ly off, and, if he likes it, he comes, or ſends, and ares the *pattern* with the whole piece, and probably me to a bargain. But if I were to buy an hundred , and the grazier ſhould bring me one ſingle wether, ıd well fleeced, by way of *pattern*, and expect the price round for the whole hundred, without ſuffering ſee them before he was paid, or giving me good ſe- r to reſtore my money for thoſe that were *lean*, or , or *ſcabby*, I would be none of his cuſtomer. I heard of a man who had a mind to ſell his houſe, herefore carried a piece of *brick* in his pocket, which ewed as a *pattern* to encourage purchaſers; and this ectly the caſe in point with Mr Wood's *aſſay*.

ıe next part of the paragraph contains Mr Wood's tary propoſals for *preventing any further objections* prehenſions.

s firſt propoſal is, *That whereas he hath already coin- venteen thouſand pounds, and has copper prepared to it up forty thouſand pounds, he will be content to o more, unleſs the* EXIGENCIES OF TRADE REQUIRE *although his patent impowers him to coin a far greater ity.*

which if I were to anſwer, it ſhould be thus: Let Vood and his crew of *founders* and *tinkers* coin on, ere is not an old kettle left in the kingdom; let them ld leather, tobacco-pipe-clay, or the dirt in the ſtreet, all their trumpery by what name they pleaſe, from a a *to a farthing;* we are not under any concern to

know how he and and his tribe of accomplices think fit to employ themſelves. But I hope, and truſt, that we are all to a man fully determined to have nothing to do with him or his wares.

The King has given him a patent to coin halfpence, but hath not obliged us to take them; and I have already ſhewn in my *letter to the ſhopkeepers, &c.* that the law hath not left it in the power of the *prerogative* to compel the ſubject to take any money, beſides gold and ſilver of the right ſterling and ſtandard.

Wood further propoſes, (if I underſtand him right, for his expreſſions are dubious), that *he will not coin above forty thouſand pounds, unleſs the exigencies of trade require it.* Firſt, I obſerve that this ſum of *forty thouſand pounds* is almoſt double to what I proved to be ſufficient for the whole kingdom, although we had not one of our old halfpence left. Again, I aſk, who is to be judge when the *exigencies of trade require it?* Without doubt he means *himſelf*; for as to us of this poor kingdom, who muſt be utterly ruined if this project ſhould ſucceed, we were never *once* conſulted till the matter was over, and he will judge of our *exigencies* by his own; neither will theſe be ever at an end, till he and his accomplices ſhall think they have enough: and it now appears that he will not be content with all our gold and ſilver, but intends to buy up our goods and manufactures with the ſame coin.

I ſhall not enter into examination of the prices for which he now propoſes to ſell his halfpence, or what he calls his copper, by the pound; I have ſaid enough of it in my former letter, and it hath likewiſe been conſidered by others. It is certain, that by his own firſt computation we were to pay three ſhillings for what was intrinſically worth but one, although it had been of the true weight and ſtandard for which he pretended to have contracted; but there is ſo great a difference both in weight and badneſs in ſeveral of his coins, that ſome of them have been nine in ten below the intrinſic value, and moſt of them ſix or ſeven.

His laſt propoſal being of a peculiar ſtrain and nature, deſerves to be very particularly conſidered both on account *of the matter* and the ſtyle. It is as follows.

Laſtly,

Laſtly, *In conſideration of the direful apprehenſions which prevail in* Ireland, *that Mr* Wood *will by ſuch coinage drain them of their gold and ſilver; he propoſes to take their manufactures in exchange, and that no perſon be* obliged *to receive more than five pence halfpenny at one payment.*

Firſt, Obſerve this little impudent *hardwareman* turning into ridicule *the direful apprehenſions of a whole kingdom*, priding himſelf as the cauſe of them, and daring to preſcribe (what no king of England ever attempted) how far a whole nation ſhall be obliged to take his braſs coin. And he has reaſon to inſult: for ſure there was never an example in hiſtory of a great kingdom kept in awe for above a year, in daily dread of utter deſtruction, not by a powerful invader at the head of twenty thouſand men, not by a plague or a famine, not by a tyrannical prince (for we never had one more gracious) or a corrupt adminiſtration, but by one ſingle, diminutive, inſignificant mechanic.

But to go on: To remove our *direful apprehenſions, that he will drain us of our gold and ſilver by his coinage*, this little arbitrary *mock-monarch* moſt graciouſly offers to *take our manufactures in exchange.* Are our Iriſh underſtandings indeed ſo low in his opinion? Is not this the very miſery we complain of, that his curſed project will put us under the neceſſity of ſelling our goods for what is equal to *nothing*? How would ſuch a propoſal ſound from France or Spain, or any other country with which we traffic, if they ſhould offer to deal with us only upon this condition, that we ſhould take their money at ten times higher than the intrinſic value? Does Mr Wood think, for inſtance, that we will ſell him a ſtone of wool for a parcel of his *counters* not worth *ſixpence*, when we can ſend it to England, and receive as many ſhillings in gold and ſilver? Surely there was never heard ſuch a compound of impudence, villany, and folly.

His propoſals conclude with perfect *high treaſon.* He promiſes, that *no perſon ſhall be* obliged *to receive more than five pence halfpenny of his coin in one payment.* By which it is plain, that he pretends to oblige every ſubject *in this kingdom* to take ſo much in every payment, if it

it be offered; whereas his patent *obliges* no man, nor can the prerogative by law claim ſuch a power, as I have often obſerved; ſo that here Mr Wood takes upon him the *entire legiſlature*, and an abſolute dominion over the properties of the whole nation.

Good God! who are this wretch's *adviſers?* who are his *ſupporters*, *abettors*, *encouragers*, or *ſharers?* Mr Wood will *oblige* me to take five pence halfpenny of his braſs in every payment. And I will ſhoot Mr Wood and his deputies through the head like *highwaymen* or *houſe-breakers*, if they dare to force one farthing of their coin on me in the payment of an hundred pounds. It is no loſs of honour to ſubmit to the *lion*; but who, with the figure of a *man*, can think with patience of being devoured alive by a *rat?* He has laid a tax upon the people of Ireland of ſeventeen ſhillings at leaſt in the pound: a tax, I ſay, not only upon lands, but intereſt-money, goods, manufactures, the hire of handicraftſmen, labourers, and ſervants. Shopkeepers, look to yourſelves! Wood will oblige and force you to take five pence halfpenny of his traſh in every payment; and many of you receive twenty, thirty, forty payments in one day, or elſe you can hardly find bread: and pray conſider how much that will amount to in a year; twenty times five pence halfpenny is nine ſhillings and two pence, which is above an hundred and ſixty pounds a-year, wherein you will be loſers of at leaſt one hundred and forty pounds by taking your payments in his money. If any of you be content to deal with Mr Wood on ſuch conditions, they may; but for my own particular, *let his money periſh with him.* If the famous Mr Hambden rather choſe to go to priſon, than pay a few ſhillings to King Charles I. without authority of parliament; I will rather chuſe to be *hanged* than have all my ſubſtance taxed at ſeventeen ſhillings in the pound at the arbitrary will and pleaſure of the venerable Mr Wood.

The paragraph concludes thus: N. B. (that is to ſay *nota bene*, or *mark well*) *No evidence appeared from* Ireland, *or elſewhere, to prove the miſchiefs complained of, or any abuſes whatſoever committed in the execution of the ſaid grant.*

The impudence of this remark exceeds all that went be-

for

fore. Firſt, the houſe of Commons in Ireland, which repreſents the whole people of the kingdom; and ſecondly, the privy council addreſſed his Majeſty againſt theſe halfpence: What could be done more to expreſs the univerſal ſenſe of the nation? If his copper were diamonds, and the kingdom were entirely againſt it, would not that be ſufficient to reject it? Muſt a committee of the whole houſe of Commons, and our whole privy council, go over to argue *pro* and *con* with Mr Wood? To what end did the King give his patent for coining halfpence in Ireland? was it not, becauſe it was repreſented to his Sacred Majeſty, that ſuch a coinage would be of advantage to the good of this kingdom, and of all his ſubjects here? It is to the patentee's peril, if his repreſentation be falſe, and the execution of his patent be fraudulent and corrupt. Is he ſo wicked and fooliſh to think, that his patent was given him to ruin a million and a half of people, that he might be a gainer of three or four ſcore thouſand pounds to himſelf? Before he was at the charge of paſſing a patent, much more of raking up ſo much filthy droſs, and ſtamping it with his Majeſty's *image and ſuperſcription*, ſhould he not firſt in common ſenſe, in common equity, and common manners, have conſulted the principal party concerned; that is to ſay, the people of the kingdom, the houſe of Lords, or Commons, or the privy council? If any foreigner ſhould aſk us, *whoſe image and ſuperſcription there is on* Wood's coin? we ſhould be aſhamed to tell him, it was Cæſar's. In that great want of copper halfpence which he alledges we were, our city ſet up *our* Cæſar's * ſtatue in excellent copper, at an expenſe that is equal in value to thirty thouſand pound of his coin; and we will not receive his image in worſe metal.

I obſerve many of our people putting a melancholy caſe on this ſubject. It is true, ſay they, we are all undone if Wood's halfpence muſt paſs; but what ſhall we do if his Majeſty puts out a *proclamation* commanding us to take them? This hath often been dinned in my ears. But I deſire my countrymen to be aſſured that there is nothing in it. The King never iſſues out a *proclamation*

* *An equeſtrian ſtatue of* George I. at Eſſex-bridge, Dublin.

but to injoin what the law permits him. He will not iſſue out a *proclamation* againſt *law*; or if ſuch a thing ſhould happen by a miſtake, we are no more obliged to obey it than to run our heads into the fire. Beſides, his Majeſty will never command us by a *proclamation*, what he does not offer to command us in the *patent* itſelf. There he leaves it to our diſcretion; ſo that our deſtruction muſt be entirely owing to ourſelves. Therefore let no man be afraid of a *proclamation*, which will never be granted; and if it ſhould, yet upon this occaſion will be of no force. The King's revenues here are near four hundred thouſand pounds a-year. Can you think his miniſters will adviſe him to take them in Wood's braſs, which will reduce the value to fifty thouſand pounds? England gets a million *Sterling* by this nation; which, if this project goes on, will be almoſt reduced to nothing: and do you think thoſe who live in England upon Iriſh eſtates, will be content to take an eighth or tenth part by being paid in Wood's droſs?

If Wood and his *confederates* were not convinced of our ſtupidity, they never would have attempted ſo audacious an enterpriſe. He now ſees a ſpirit hath been raiſed againſt him, and he only watches till it begins to flag: he goes about *watching* when to *devour us*. He hopes we ſhall be weary of contending with him; and at laſt out of ignorance or fear, or of being perfectly tired with oppoſition. we ſhall be forced to yield: and therefore, I confeſs, it is my chief endeavour to keep up your ſpirits and reſentments. If I tell you there is a precipice under you, and that if you go forwards you will certainly break your necks; if I point to it before your eyes, muſt I be at the trouble of repeating it every morning? Are our people's *hearts waxed groſs?* are *their ears dull of hearing?* and have *they cloſed their eyes?* I fear there are ſome few *vipers* among us, who for ten or twenty pounds gain would ſell their ſouls and their country; although at laſt it ſhould end in their own ruin, as well as ours. Be not like *the deaf adder. who refuſeth to hear the voice of the charmer, charm he never ſo wiſely.*

Although my letter be directed to you, Mr Harding, *yet I intend it for* all my countrymen. I have no intereſt

in this affair, but what is common to the public. I can live better than many others: I have ſome gold and ſilver by me, and a ſhop well furniſhed; and ſhall be able to make a ſhift, when many of my betters are ſtarving. But I am grieved to ſee the coldneſs and indifference of many people, with whom I diſcourſe. Some are afraid of a *proclamation;* others ſhrug up their ſhoulders, and cry, What would you have us to do? Some give out, there is no danger at all: others are comforted, that it will be a common calamity, and they ſhall fare no worſe than their neighbours. Will a man who hears midnight-robbers at his door, get out of bed and raiſe his family for a common defence; and ſhall a whole kingdom lie in a lethargy, while Mr Wood comes at the head of his *confederates* to rob them of all they have, to ruin us and our poſterity, for ever? If a highwayman meets you on the road, you give him your money to ſave your life; but God be thanked, Mr Wood cannot touch a hair of your heads. You have all the laws of God and man on your ſide: when he or his accomplices offer you his droſs, it is but ſaying *No*, and you are ſafe. If a madman ſhould come into my ſhop with a handful of dirt raked out of the kennel, and offer it in payment for ten yards of ſtuff, I would pity or laugh at him; or, if his behaviour deſerved it, kick him out of my doors. And if Mr Wood comes to demand my gold and ſilver, or commodities for which I have paid my gold and ſilver, in exchange for his traſh, can he deſerve or expect better treatment?

When the *evil day* is come, (if it muſt come), let us mark and obſerve thoſe who preſume to offer theſe halfpence in payment. Let their names, and trades, and places of abode, be made public, that every one may be aware of them, as betrayers of their country, and confederates with Mr Wood. Let them be watched at markets and fairs; and let the firſt honeſt diſcoverer give the word about, that Mr Wood's halfpence have been offered, and caution the poor innocent people not to receive them.

Perhaps I have been too tedious; but there would never be an end, if I attempted to ſay all that this melancholy *ſubject will bear. I will* conclude with humbly offering

fering one propoſal; which, if it were put into practice, would blow up this deſtructive project at once. Let ſome ſkilful, judicious pen draw up an *advertiſement* to the following purpoſe.

Whereas one William Wood, *hardwareman, now or lately ſojourning in the city of* London, *hath, by many miſrepreſentations, procured a patent for coining an hundred and eight thouſand pounds in copper halfpence for this kingdom; which is a ſum five times greater than our occaſions require: and whereas it is notorious, that the ſaid* Wood *hath coined his halfpence of ſuch baſe metal and falſe weight, that they are at leaſt ſix parts in ſeven below the real value: and whereas we have reaſon to apprehend, that the ſaid* Wood *may at any time hereafter clandeſtinely coin as many more halfpence as he pleaſes: and whereas the ſaid patent neither doth, nor can* oblige *his Majeſty's ſubjects to receive the ſaid halfpence in any payment, but leaves it to their voluntary choice; becauſe by law the ſubject cannot be* obliged *to take any money, except* gold *or* ſilver: *and whereas, contrary to the letter and meaning of the ſaid patent, the ſaid* Wood *hath declared, that every perſon ſhall be* obliged *to take five pence halfpenny of his coin in every payment: and whereas the houſe of Commons, and privy council, have ſeverally addreſſed his Moſt Sacred Majeſty, repreſenting the ill conſequences which the ſaid* coinage *may have upon this kingdom: and, laſtly, whereas it is univerſally agreed that the whole nation to a man (except Mr* Wood, *and his* confederates) *are in the utmoſt apprehenſions of the ruinous conſequences that muſt follow from the ſaid* coinage; *therefore we, whoſe names are under written, being perſons of conſiderable eſtates in this kingdom, and reſidders therein, do unanimouſly reſolve and declare, that we will never receive one farthing or halfpenny of the ſaid* Wood's *coining; and that we will direct all our tenants to refuſe the ſaid coin from any perſon whatſoever; and which that they may not be ignorant, we have ſent them a* copy *of this* advertiſement *to be read to them by our ſtewards, receivers,* &c.

I could wiſh, that a paper of this nature might be drawn up, and ſigned by two or three hundred principal gentle-

this kingdom; and printed copies thereof ſent to veral tenants. I am deceived if any thing could defeat this execrable deſign of Wood, and his *acers*. This would immediately give the alarm, and kingdom on their guard; this would give courage neaneſt tenant and cottager. *How long, O Lord, is and true*, &c.

ſt tell you in particular, Mr Harding, that you are o blame. Several hundred perſons have inquired houſe for my *letter to the ſhopkeepers*, &c. and l none to ſell them. Pray keep yourſelf provided at letter, and with this: you have got very well ormer; but I did not then write for your ſake, any an I do now. Pray advertiſe both in every news- and let it not be your fault or mine, if our country- l not take warning. I deſire you likewiſe to ſell cheap as you can.

I am your ſervant,

M. B.

4. 1724.

LETTER

LETTER III.

Some OBSERVATIONS upon a paper called, *The report of the committee of the Moſt Honourable the privy council in* England, *relating to* Wood's *halfpence.*

To the Nobility and Gentry of the kingdom of Ireland.

HAving already written *two letters* to the people of my own level and condition, and having now very preſſing occaſion for writing a *third;* I thought I could not more properly addreſs it than to your *Lordſhips* and *Worſhips.*

The occaſion is this: A printed paper was ſent to me on the 18th inſtant, intitled, *A* report *of the committee of the Lords of his Majeſty's Moſt Honourable* privy council *in* England, *relating to Mr* Wood's *halfpence and farthings.* There is no mention made where the paper was printed; but I ſuppoſe it to have been in Dublin: and I have been told, that the copy did not come over in the Gazette, but in the London *Journal,* or ſome other print of no authority or conſequence. And, for any thing that legally appears to the contrary, it may be a contrivance to *fright* us; or a *project* of ſome printer, who hath a mind to make a penny by publiſhing ſomething upon a ſubject which now employs all our thoughts in this *kingdom.* Mr Wood, in publiſhing this paper, would inſinuate to the world, as if the *committee* had a greater concern for his credit and private emolument, than for the honour of the *privy council,* and both *houſes of parliament* here, and for the quiet and welfare of this whole kingdom; for it ſeems intended a vindication of Mr Wood, not without ſeveral ſevere *reflections on* the houſes of *Lords* and *Commons* of Ireland.

The whole is indeed written with the turn and air of a pamphlet; as if it were a diſpute between William Wood on the one part, and the *lords juſtices, privy council,* and *both houſes of parliament* on the other; the deſign of it being to clear William Wood, and to charge the other ſide with caſting raſh and groundleſs aſperſions upon him.

But if it be really what the title imports, Mr Wood hath treated the *committee* with great rudeneſs, by publiſhing an act of theirs in ſo unbecoming a manner, without their leave, and before it was communicated to the *government* and *privy council* of Ireland, to whom the committee adviſed that it ſhould be tranſmitted. But, with all deference be it ſpoken, I do not conceive that a report of a committee of the council in England is *hitherto* a law in either *kingdom;* and until any point is determined to be a law, it remains diſputable by every ſubject.

This (may it pleaſe your *Lordſhips* and *Worſhips*) may ſeem a ſtrange way of diſcourſing in an *illiterate ſhopkeeper.* I have endeavoured (although without the help of books) to improve that ſmall portion of reaſon God hath been pleaſed to give me; and when reaſon plainly appears before me, I cannot turn away my head from it. Thus, for inſtance, if any lawyer ſhould tell me that ſuch a point were law, from which many groſs palpable abſurdities muſt follow; I would not, I could not believe him. If Sir Edward Coke ſhould poſitively aſſert, (which he no where does, but the direct contrary), that a *limited prince* could by his *prerogative* oblige his ſubjects to take half an ounce of lead, ſtamped with his image, for twenty ſhillings in gold, I ſhould ſwear he was *deceived,* or a *deceiver;* becauſe a power like that would leave the whole lives and fortunes of the people entirely at the mercy of the monarch; yet this in effect is what Wood hath advanced in ſome of his papers, and what ſuſpicious people may poſſibly apprehend from ſome paſſages in that which is called the *report.*

That paper mentions *ſuch perſons to have been examined, who were* deſirous *and* willing *to be heard upon this ſubject.* I am told they were four in all; Coleby, B——, Mr Finley the banker, and one more, whoſe name I know not. The *firſt of theſe* was tried for robbing the treaſury

in Ireland: and though he was acquitted for want of legal proof, yet every perſon in the court believed him to be guilty.

But, ſince I have gone ſo far as to mention particular perſons, it may be ſome ſatisfaction to know who is this Wood himſelf, that has the honour to have a whole kingdom at his mercy for almoſt two years together. I find he is in the patent intitled *Eſquire*, although he were underſtood to be only a *hardwareman*; and ſo I have been been bold to call him in my former letters; however, a *'ſquire* he is, not only by virtue of his patent, but by having been a collector in Shropſhire; where pretending to have been robbed, and ſuing the county, he was caſt, and for the infamy of the fact loſt his employment.

I have heard another ſtory of this 'Squire Wood from a very honourable lady, that one Hamilton told her. Hamilton was ſent for ſix years ago by Sir Iſaac Newton to try the coinage of four men, who then ſolicited a patent for coining halfpence for Ireland; their names were Wood Coſtor, Elliſton, and Parker. Parker made the faireſt of ſer, and Wood the worſt; for his coin were three halfpence in a pound weight leſs value than the other. By which it is plain, with what intentions he ſolicited his patent; but not ſo plain how he obtained it.

It is alledged in the ſaid paper called the *report*, that upon repeated orders from a ſecretary of ſtate for ſending over ſuch papers and witneſſes as ſhould be thought proper to ſupport the objections made againſt the patent, (by both houſes of parliament), the *Lord Lieutenant* repreſented *the great difficulty he found himſelf in, to comply with theſe orders: that none of the principal members of both houſes who were in the King's ſervice, or council would take upon them to adviſe, how any material perſon or papers, might be ſent over on this occaſion, &c.* And this is often repeated, and repreſented as *a proceeding that ſeems very extraordinary, and that in a matter which had raiſed ſo great a* clamour *in* Ireland, *no one perſon could be prevailed upon to come over from* Ireland *in ſupport of the united ſenſe of both houſes of parliament in* Ireland; *eſpecially that the chief difficulty ſhould ariſe from a general apprehenſion of a miſcarriage, in an inquiry by*

for

fore his Majeſty, or in a proceeding by due courſe of law; in a caſe where both houſes of parliament had declared themſelves ſo fully convinced, and ſatisfied upon evidence, and examinations taken in the moſt ſolemn manner.

How ſhall I, a poor ignorant ſhopkeeper, utterly unſkilled in law, be able to anſwer ſo weighty an objection? I will try what can be done by plain reaſon, unaſſiſted by art, cunning, or eloquence.

In my humble opinion, the committee of council hath already prejudged the whole caſe, by calling the united ſenſe of both *houſes of parliament* in Ireland an *univerſal clamour*. Here the addreſſes of the Lords and Commons of Ireland againſt a ruinous, deſtructive project of an *obſcure, ſingle undertaker*, is called a *clamour*. I deſire to know, how ſuch a ſtyle would be reſented in England from a committee of council there to a parliament; and how many *impeachments* would follow upon it? But ſuppoſing the appellation to be proper, I never heard of a wiſe miniſter, who deſpiſed the *univerſal clamour* of a people; and if that *clamour* can be quieted by diſappointing the fraudulent practice of a ſingle perſon, the purchaſe is not exorbitant.

But in anſwer to this objection, firſt, it is manifeſt, that if this coinage had been in Ireland, with ſuch limitations as have been formerly ſpecified in other patents, and granted to perſons of this *kingdom*, or even of England, able to give ſufficient ſecurity, few or no inconveniencies could have happened. As to Mr Knox's patent mentioned in the *report*, ſecurity was given in to the exchequer, that the *patentee* ſhould upon all demands be obliged to receive his *halfpence* back, and pay gold or ſilver in exchange for them. And Mr Moor (to whom I ſuppoſe that patent was made over) was in 1694 forced to leave off coining before the end of that year, by the great crouds of people continually offering to return his coinage upon him. In 1698 he coined again, and was forced to give over for the ſame reaſon. This entirely alters the caſe; for there is no ſuch condition in Wood's patent; which condition was worth a hundred times all other limitations whatſoever.

Put the caſe, that the two houſes of Lords and Commons

of England, and the *privy council* there, ſhould addr his Majeſty to recall a *patent*, from whence they app hended the moſt ruinous conſequences to the whole ki dom; and to make it ſtronger if poſſible, that the wh nation almoſt to a man ſhould thereupon diſcover the *n diſmal apprehenſions*, (as Mr Wood ſtyles them); wo his Majeſty debate half an hour what he had to do? wo any miniſter dare adviſe him againſt recalling ſuch a tent? or would the matter be referred to the *p council*, or to Weſtminſter-hall; the two houſes of *p liament* plaintiffs, and William Wood defendant? is there even the ſmalleſt difference between the two caſ

Were not the people of Ireland born as *free* as thoſe England? how have they forfeited their freedom? is their *parliament* as fair a *repreſentative* of the *people* that of England; and hath not their privy council great, or a greater ſhare in the adminiſtration of pul affairs? are not they ſubjects of the ſame King? does the ſame *ſun* ſhine upon them? and have they not ſame God for their protector? am I a *freeman* in E land, and do I become a *ſlave* in ſix hours by croſſing channel? No wonder then if the boldeſt perſons were c tious to interpoſe in a matter already determined by whole voice of the nation; or to preſume to repreſent repreſentatives of the kingdom; and were juſtly appreh ſive of meeting ſuch a treatment as they would deſerv the next ſeſſion. It would ſeem very extraordinary an inferior court in England ſhould take a matter out the hands of the high court of parliament during a pro gation, and decide it againſt the opinion of both houſes

It happens however, that although no perſons were bold as to go over as evidences to prove the truth of objections made againſt this *patent* by the *high court parliament* here, yet theſe objections ſtand good, r withſtanding the anſwers made by Mr Wood and *council*.

The *report* ſays, that, *upon an aſſay made of the f neſs, weight, and value of this copper, it exceeded in very article*. This is poſſible enough in the pieces on which the *aſſay* was made; but Wood muſt have f *ed very much* in point of dexterity, if he had not ta

care to provide a ſufficient quantity of ſuch *halfpence* as would bear the trial; which he was well able to do, although *they were taken out of ſeveral parcels*; ſince it is now plain, that the bias of favour hath been wholly on his ſide.

But what need is there of diſputing, when we have a poſitive demonſtration of Wood's fraudulent practices in this point? I have ſeen a large quantity of theſe *halfpence* weighed by a very ſkilful perſon, which were of four different kinds, three of them conſiderably under weight. I have now before me an exact computation of the difference of weight between theſe four ſorts; by which it appears, that the fourth ſort, or the lighteſt, differs from the firſt to a degree, that in the coinage of three hundred and ſixty tons of copper the *patentee* will be a gainer, only by that difference, of twenty-four thouſand four hundred and ninety-four pounds; and in the whole the public will be a loſer of eighty-two thouſand one hundred and ſixty-eight pounds ſixteen ſhillings, even ſuppoſing the metal in point of goodneſs to anſwer Wood's contract, and the *aſſay* that hath been made, which it infallibly doth not. For this point hath likewiſe been inquired into by very experienced men; who, upon ſeveral trials on many of theſe *halfpence*, have found them to be at leaſt one fourth part below the real value, not including the *raps* or *counterfeits* that he, or his *accomplices*, have already made of *his own coin*, and ſcattered about. Now, the coinage of three hundred and ſixty tons of copper, coined by the weight of the fourth or lighteſt ſort of his *halfpence*, will amount to one hundred twenty-two thouſand four hundred eighty-eight pounds ſixteen ſhillings; and, if we ſubtract a fourth part of the real value by the *baſe mixture* in the metal, we muſt add to the public loſs one fourth part to be ſubtracted from the intrinſic value of the copper; which in three hundred and ſixty tons amounts to ten thouſand and eighty pounds; and this, added to the former ſum of eighty-two thouſand one hundred ſixty-eight pounds ſixteen ſhillings, will make in all ninety-two thouſand two hundred forty-eight pounds loſs to the public; beſides the *raps* or *counterfeits* that he may at any time hereafter think fit to coin. Nor do I know whether he reckons the *droſs* excluſive or in-

cluſive with his three hundred and ſixty tons of copper; which however will make a conſiderable difference in the account.

You will here pleaſe to obſerve, that the profit allowed to Wood by the patent is twelve pence out of every pound of copper valued at 1 *s.* 6 *d.* whereas 5 *d.* only is allowed for coinage of a pound weight for the Engliſh *halfpence*; and this difference is almoſt 25 *per cent.* which is double to the higheſt exchange of money, even under all the additional preſſures and obſtructions to trade that this unhappy kingdom lies at preſent. This one circumſtance, in the coinage of three hundred and ſixty tons of copper, makes a difference of twenty-ſeven thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty pounds between Engliſh and Iriſh *halfpence*; even allowing thoſe of Wood to be all of the heavieſt ſort.

It is likewiſe to be conſidered, that for every *halfpenny* in a pound weight, exceeding the number directed by the patent, Wood will be a gainer in the coinage of three hundred and ſixty tons of copper, ſixteen hundred and eighty pounds profit more than the patent allows him; out of which he may afford to make his *comptrollers eaſy* upon that article.

As to what is alledged, that theſe *halfpence far exceed the like coinage for* Ireland *in the reigns of his Majeſty's predeceſſors*; there cannot well be a more exceptionable way of arguing, although the fact were true: which however is altogether miſtaken, not by any fault in the *committee*, but by the fraud and impoſition of Wood, who certainly produced the worſt patterns he could find; ſuch as were coined in ſmall numbers by *permiſſions to private men*, as *butchers halfpence*, *black-dogs*, and others the like; or perhaps the ſmall St Patrick's coin, which paſſed now for a farthing, or at beſt ſome of the ſmalleſt *rapes* of the lateſt kind. For I have now by me *halfpence* coined in the year 1680 by virtue of the patent granted to my Lord Dartmouth, which was renewed to Knox, and they are heavier by a ninth part than thoſe of Wood, and of much better metal; and the great St Patrick's *halfpence* are yet larger than either.

But what is all this to the preſent debate: if, under the *various* exigencies of former times, by wars, rebellions, and

inſurrection

inſurrections, the kings of England were ſometimes forced to pay their armies here with mixed or baſe money? God forbid that the neceſſities of turbulent times ſhould be a precedent for times of peace, and order, and ſettlement.

In the patent above mentioned, granted to Lord Dartmouth in the reign of King Charles II. and renewed to Knox, the ſecurities given in to the exchequer, obliging the *patentee* to receive his money back upon every demand, were an effectual remedy againſt all inconveniencies: and the *copper was coined in our kingdom;* ſo that we were in no danger to purchaſe it with the loſs of all our ſilver and gold carried over to another, nor to be at the trouble of going to England for the redreſſing any abuſe.

That the kings of England have exerciſed their prerogative of coining copper for Ireland and for England, is not the preſent queſtion: but, to ſpeak in the ſtyle of the *report*, it would *ſeem a little extraordinary*, ſuppoſing a king ſhould think fit to exerciſe his *prerogative* by coining copper in Ireland to be current in England, without referring it to his officers in that kingdom to be informed, whether the grant were reaſonable, and whether the people deſired it or no, and without regard to the addreſſes of his parliament againſt it. God forbid that ſo mean a man as I ſhould meddle with the King's *prerogative:* but I have heard very wiſe men ſay, That the King's *prerogative* is bounded and limited by the *good* and *welfare* of his *people.* I deſire to know, whether it be not underſtood and avowed, that the good of Ireland was intended by this *patent?* But Ireland is not conſulted at all in the matter; and, as ſoon as Ireland is informed of it, *they* declared againſt it: the *two houſes of parliament* and the *privy council* addreſs his Majeſty upon the miſchiefs apprehended by ſuch a *patent;* the *privy council* in England take the matter out of the *parliament*'s cogniſance; the good of the kingdom is dropt; and it is now determined, that Mr Wood ſhall have the power of ruining a whole nation for his private advantage.

I never can ſuppoſe, that ſuch *patents* as theſe were originally granted with a view of being a *job* for the intereſt of a particular perſon to the damage of the public.

Whatever

Whatever profit muſt ariſe to the *patentee*, was ſurely meant at beſt but as a ſecondary motive; and ſince ſomebody muſt be a gainer, the choice of the perſon was made either by favour or *ſomething elſe*, or by the pretence of merit and honeſty: this argument returns ſo often and ſo ſtrongly into my head, that I cannot forbear frequently repeating it. Surely his Majeſty, when he conſented to the paſſing of this *patent*, *conceived* he was doing an act of grace to his moſt loyal ſubjects of Ireland, without any regard to Mr Wood, farther than as an *inſtrument*: but the people of Ireland think this *patent* (intended, *no doubt*, for their good) to be a moſt intolerable grievance; and therefore Mr Wood can never ſucceed without an open avowal, that his profit is preferred, not only before the *intereſt*, but the very *ſafety* and *being* of a great kingdom; and a kingdom diſtinguiſhed for its loyalty perhaps above all others upon earth; not turned from its duty by the *juriſdiction of the houſe of Lords aboliſhed at a ſtroke, by the hardſhips of the act of navigation newly inforced, by all poſſible obſtructions in trade*, and by a hundred other inſtances, enough to fill this paper; nor was there ever among us the leaſt attempt towards an inſurrection in favour of the *pretender*. Therefore, whatever juſtice a *free people* can claim, we have at leaſt an *equal* title to it with our brethren in England; and whatever grace a good prince can beſtow on the moſt *loyal ſubjects*, we have reaſon to expect it; neither has this kingdom any way deſerved to be ſacrificed to one *ſingle*, *rapacious*, *obſcure*, *ignominious* projector.

Among other clauſes mentioned in this *patent* to ſhew how advantageous it is to Ireland, there is one which ſeems to be of a *ſingular nature*; that the *patentee* ſhall be obliged during his term *to pay eight hundred pounds a-year to the crown, and two hundred pounds a-year to the comptroller*. I have heard indeed, that the King's council do always conſider in the paſſing of a *patent*, whether it will be of advantage to the crown; but I have likewiſe heard, that it is at the ſame time conſidered, whether paſſing of it may be injurious to any other perſons or bodies-politic? However, although the *attorney* and *ſolicitor* be ſervants to the King, and therefore bound to conſult his Majeſty's intereſt;

t; yet I am under ſome doubt, whether eight hun-
ounds a-year to the crown would be equivalent to
in of a kingdom. It would be far better for us to
aid eight thouſand pounds a-year into his Majeſty's
in the midſt of all our taxes, (which in proportion
eater in this kingdom than ever they were in England,
uring the war), than purchaſe ſuch an addition to
venue at the price of our *utter undoing*.

here it is plain, that fourteen thouſand pounds are
paid by Wood only as a *ſmall, circumſtantial*
for the purchaſe of his *patent*: what were his o-
ifible coſts, I know not; and what were his *latent*,
ouſly conjectured; but he muſt be ſurely a man of
wonderful merit. Hath he ſaved any other kingdom
own expenſe, to give him a title of reimburſing him-
y the *deſtruction* of ours? Hath he diſcovered the
ude, or the *univerſal medicine?* No; but he hath
the *philoſopher's ſtone* after a new manner, by *de-*
of copper, and reſolving to force it upon us for

hen the two houſes repreſented to his Majeſty, that
atent to Wood *was obtained in a clandeſtine man-*
ſurely the committee could not think the parliament
. inſinuate, that it had not paſſed in the common
, and run through every office where fees and per-
s were due. They knew very well, that perſons in
were no enemies to grants; and that the officers of
own could not be kept in the dark. But the late
Lieutenant of Ireland * affirmed, it was a *ſecret* to
and who will doubt of his *veracity*, eſpecially when
ore to a perſon of quality, from whom I had it, that
d ſhould never be troubled with theſe *halfpence*. It
ſecret to the people of Ireland, who were to be the
ufferers; and thoſe who beſt know the ſtate of the
om, and were moſt able to adviſe in ſuch an affair,
wholly ſtrangers to it.

s allowed by the *report*, that this *patent* was paſſed
ut the knowledge of the chief governor, or officers of
d: and it is there elaborately ſhewn, that *former*

* *Duke of Grafton.*

patents

patents have paſſed in the ſame manner, and are *good in law*. I ſhall not diſpute the legality of *patents*, but am ready to ſuppoſe it in his Majeſty's power to grant a *patent* for ſtamping round bits of copper to every ſubject he hath. Therefore, to lay aſide the point of law, I would only put the queſtion, whether in *reaſon* and *juſtice* it would not have been proper in an affair upon which *the welfare of the kingdom depends*, that the ſaid kingdom ſhould have received timely notice; and the matter not be carried on between the *patentee* and the *officers of the crown*, who were to be the only gainers by it.

The *parliament*, who in matters of this nature are the moſt able and faithful counſellors, did repreſent this grant to be *deſtructive of trade, and dangerous to the properties of the people:* to which the only anſwer is, That *the King hath a prerogative to make ſuch a grant.*

It is aſſerted, That in the patent to Knox his *halfpence are made and declared the current coin of the kingdom;* whereas, in this to Wood there is only a *power given to iſſue them to ſuch as will receive them.* The authors of the *report*, I think, do not affirm, that the King can, by *law*, declare *any thing* to be current money by his letters patents. I dare ſay they will not affirm it; and if Knox's patent contained in it powers contrary to law, why is it mentioned as a precedent in his Majeſty's *juſt and merciful reign?* But although that clauſe be not in Wood's patent, yet poſſibly there are others, the legality whereof may be equally doubted; and particularly that whereby *a power is given to* William Wood *to break into houſes in ſearch of any coin made in imitation of his.* This may perhaps be affirmed to be illegal and dangerous to the liberty of the ſubject; yet this is a *precedent* taken from Knox's patent, where the ſame power is granted; and is a ſtrong inſtance, what uſes may be ſometimes made of *precedents.*

But although, before the paſſing of this patent, it was not thought neceſſary to conſult any perſons of this kingdom, or make the leaſt inquiry, whether copper money were wanting among us; yet now at length, when the matter is over, when the patent hath long paſſed, when *Wood* hath already coined ſeventeen thouſand pounds,

and

and hath his tools and implements prepared to coin *ſix times* as much more, the committee hath been pleaſed to make this affair the ſubject of inquiry; Wood is permitted to produce his evidences, which conſiſt, as I have already obſerved, of four in number, whereof Coleby, B——, and Mr Finley the banker, are three. And theſe were to prove, that copper money was extremely wanted in Ireland. The firſt had been out of the kingdom almoſt twenty years, from the time that he was tried for *robbing the treaſury*; and therefore his *knowledge* and *credibility* are equal. Mr Finley, one of the other witneſſes, honeſtly confeſſed, that he was ignorant whether Ireland wanted copper money or no; but his whole intention was to buy a certain quantity from Wood at a *large diſcount*, and ſell them as well as he could; by which he hoped to get two or three thouſand pounds for himſelf.

But ſuppoſe there were not one ſingle halfpenny of copper coin in this whole kingdom, (which Mr Wood ſeems to intend, unleſs we come to his terms, as appears by employing his emiſſaries to buy up our old ones at a penny in the ſhilling more than they paſs for), it could not be any *real evil* to us, although it might be ſome *inconvenience*. We have many ſorts of ſmall ſilver coins to which they are ſtrangers in England; ſuch as the French *threepences*, *four pence halfpennies*, and *eightpence farthings*, the Scotch *fivepences* and *tenpences*, beſides their *twentypences* and *three and four pences*, by which we are able to make change to a halfpenny of almoſt any piece of gold or ſilver; and if we are driven to the expedient of a *ſealed card* with the little gold and ſilver ſtill remaining, it will, I ſuppoſe, be ſomewhat better than to have nothing left but Wood's adulterated copper, which he is neither *obliged* by his *patent*, nor HITHERTO *able* by his *eſtate* to make good.

The *report* farther tells us, it *muſt be admitted, that letters patents, under the great ſeal of* Great Britain, *for coining copper-money for* Ireland, *are legal and obligatory, a juſt and reaſonable exerciſe of his Majeſty's royal prerogative, and in no manner derogatory, or invaſive of any liberty or privilege of his ſubjects of* Ireland. Firſt, we deſire to know, why his Majeſty's *prerogative* might not

have

have been as well aſſerted by paſſing this patent in Ireland, and ſubjecting the ſeveral conditions of the contract to the inſpection of thoſe who are only concerned, as was formerly done in the only precedents for patents granted for coining in this kingdom, ſince the mixed money in Queen Eliſabeth's time during the difficulties of a rebellion: whereas now, upon the greateſt impoſition that can poſſibly be practiſed, we muſt go to England with our complaints; where it hath been for ſome time the faſhion to think, and to affirm, that *we cannot be too hardly uſed.* Again, the *report* ſays, that *ſuch patents are obligatory.* After long thinking, I am not able to find out, what can poſſibly be meant here by this word *obligatory.* The patent of Wood neither *obligeth* him to utter his coin, nor us to take it; or if it did the latter, it would be ſo far void, becauſe no patent can *oblige* the ſubject againſt law; unleſs an illegal patent paſſed in *one* kingdom, can bind *another*, and not itſelf.

Laſtly, it is added, that *ſuch patents are in no manner derogatory, or invaſive of any liberty or privilege of the King's ſubjects of* Ireland. If this propoſition be true, as it is here laid down, without any limitation either expreſſed or implied, it muſt follow, that a king of England may at any time coin copper money for Ireland, and oblige his ſubjects here to take a piece of copper under the value of half a farthing for half a crown, as was practiſed by the late King James; and even without that arbitrary prince's excuſe from the neceſſity and exigencies of his affairs. If this be in no manner *derogatory, nor invaſive of any liberties or privileges of the ſubjects of* Ireland, it ought to have been expreſſed what our *liberties* and *privileges* are, and whether we have any at all; for in ſpecifying the word *Ireland*, inſtead of ſaying his *Majeſty's ſubjects*, it would ſeem to inſinuate, that we are not upon the ſame foot with our fellow-ſubjects in England; which however the practice may have been, I hope will never be directly aſſerted; for I do not underſtand that *Poining's* act deprived us of our *liberty*, but only *changed the manner* of paſſing laws here (which however was *a power* moſt indirectly obtained), by leaving the negative to the two houſes *of parliament.* But waving all controverſies relating to

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the legiſlature, no perſon, I believe, was ever yet ſo bold as to affirm, that the people of Ireland have not the ſame title to the benefits of the *common law* with the reſt of his Majeſty's ſubjects; and therefore, whatever liberties or privileges the people of England enjoy by *common law*, we of Ireland have the ſame; ſo that, in my humble opinion, the word *Ireland* ſtanding in that propoſition was, in the mildeſt interpretation, a *lapſe of the pen*.

The *report* farther aſſerts, that *the precedents are many, wherein caſes of great importance to* Ireland, *and which immediately affected the intereſts of that kingdom, ſuch as warrants, orders, and directions by the authority of the* King *and his* predeceſſors, *have been iſſued under the royal ſign-manual without any previous reference or advice of his Majeſty's officers of* Ireland, *which have always had their due force, and have been punctually complied with, and obeyed*. It may be ſo, and I am heartily ſorry for it; becauſe it may prove an eternal ſource of diſcontent. However, among all theſe *precedents*, there is not one of a patent for coining money for Ireland.

There is nothing hath perplexed me more than this doctrine of *precedents*. If a job is to be done, and upon ſearching records you find it hath been done before, there will not want a lawyer to juſtify the legality of it by producing his *precedents*, without ever conſidering the motives and circumſtances that firſt introduced them; the neceſſity, or turbulence, or iniquity of times; the corruptions of miniſters, or the arbitrary diſpoſition of the prince then reigning. And I have been told by perſons eminent in the law, that the worſt actions which human nature is capable of, may be juſtified by the ſame doctrine. How the firſt *precedents* began of determining caſes of the higheſt importance to Ireland, and immediately affecting its intereſts, without any previous reference or advice to the King's officers here, may ſoon be accounted for. Before this kingdom was entirely reduced by the ſubmiſſion of Tyrone in the laſt year of Queen Eliſabeth's reign, there was a period of four hundred years, which was a various ſcene of war and peace between the Engliſh *pale* and the Iriſh natives; and the government of that part of this iſland, which *lay in the Engliſh* hands, was in many things

under the immediate adminiſtration of the King: ſilv and copper were often coined here among us; and on at leaſt upon great neceſſity a mixed or baſe metal was ſe from England. The reign of King James I. was emplo ed in ſettling the kingdom after Tyrone's rebellion; a this nation flouriſhed extremely till the time of the ma ſacre, 1641. In that difficult juncture of affairs t nobility and gentry coined their own plate here in D blin.

By all that I can diſcover, the copper coin of Irelan for three hundred years paſt, conſiſted of ſmall pence a halfpence; which particular men had licence to coin, a were current only within certain towns and diſtricts, a cording to the perſonal credit of the owner who utter them, and was bound to receive them again; whereof have ſeen many ſorts; neither have I heard of any pate granted for coining copper for Ireland, till the reign King Charles II. which was in the year 1680, to Geor Legge, Lord Dartmouth; and renewed by King James I in the firſt year of his reign (1680) to John Knox. Bo patents were paſſed in Ireland; and in both the patente were bound to receive their coin again from any that woul offer them twenty ſhillings of it, for which they were ob liged to pay gold or ſilver.

The patents both of Lord Dartmouth and Knox we referred to the Attorney-General here, and a report mad accordingly; and both, as I have already ſaid, were paſ ed in this kingdom. Knox had only a patent for the r mainder of the term granted to Lord Dartmouth; the p tent expired in 1701, and upon a petition by Roger Mo to have it renewed, the matter was referred hither; an upon the report of the Attorney and Solicitor, that it w not for his Majeſty's ſervice, or the intereſt of the natio to have it renewed, it was rejected by King William. ſhould therefore ſeem very *extraordinary*, that a patent f coining copper halfpence, intended and profeſſed for th good of the kingdom, ſhould be paſſed without once co ſulting that kingdom, for the good of which it is declare to be intended; and this upon the application of a *poo private, obſcure mechanic*; and a patent of ſuch a nature that as ſoon as ever the kingdom is informed of its bein

paſſe

paſſed, they cry out unanimouſly againſt it as *ruinous* and *deſtructive*. The repreſentatives of the nation in parliament, and the privy council, addreſs the King to have it recalled; yet the *patentee*, ſuch a one as I have deſcribed, ſhall prevail to have this patent approved; and his private intereſt ſhall weigh down the application of a whole kingdom. St Paul ſays, *All things are* lawful, *but all things are not* expedient. We are anſwered, that this patent is *lawful*: but is it *expedient?* We read, that the high prieſt ſaid, *It was expedient that one man ſhould die for the people;* and this was a moſt wicked propoſition: but that a *whole nation ſhould die for one man*, was never heard of before.

But becauſe much weight is laid on the *precedents* of other patents for *coining copper* for Ireland, I will ſet this matter in as clear a light as I can. Whoever hath read the *report*, will be apt to think, that a dozen precedents at leaſt could be produced of copper coined for Ireland by virtue of patents paſſed in England; and that the coinage was there too; whereas I am confident, there cannot be one *precedent* ſhewn of a patent paſſed in England for coining copper for Ireland for above an hundred years paſt; and if there were any before, it muſt be in times of confuſion. The only *patents* I could ever hear of, are theſe already mentioned to Lord Dartmouth and Knox, the former in 1680, and the latter in 1685. Now, let us compare theſe patents with that granted to Wood. Firſt, the patent to Knox, which was under the ſame conditions as that granted to Lord Dartmouth, was paſſed in Ireland; the government and the *attorney and ſolicitor general* making report, that it would be uſeful to this kingdom.

The patent was paſſed with the advice of the *King's council* here; the *patentee* was obliged to receive his coin from thoſe who thought themſelves ſurcharged, and to give *gold* and *ſilver* for it. Laſtly, the *patentee* was to pay only 16 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d. per annum* to the crown. Then, as to the execution of that patent; firſt, I find the *halfpence* were *milled*, which, as it is of great uſe to prevent counterfeits, (and therefore induſtriouſly avoided by Wood), ſo it was an addition to the charge of coinage. And as *for the weight and goodneſs* of the metal, I have

ſeveral *halfpence* now by me, many of which weigh a ninth part more than thoſe coined by Wood; and bear the fire and hammer a great deal better, and, which is no trifle, the impreſſion is fairer and deeper. I grant indeed, that many of the latter coinage yield in weight to ſome of Wood's, by a *fraud* natural to ſuch *patentees*; but not ſo immediately after the grant, and before the coin grew current; for in this circumſtance Mr Wood muſt ſerve for a *precedent* in *future times*.

Let us now examine this new patent granted to William Wood. It paſſed upon very falſe ſuggeſtions of his own and of a few confederates: it paſſed in England without the leaſt reference hither; it paſſed unknown to the very *Lord Lieutenant*, then in England. Wood is impowered to coin one hundred and eight thouſand pounds, *and all the* officers *in the kingdom* (civil and military) *are commanded* in the report to *countenance and aſſiſt him*. Knox had only power to utter what he would take, and was obliged *to receive his coin back again at our demand*, and to *enter into ſecurity for ſo doing*. Wood's halfpence are not *milled*, and therefore more eaſily counterfeited by *himſelf*, as well as by others. Wood pays a thouſand pounds *per annum* for fourteen years: Knox paid only ſixteen pounds thirteen ſhillings and four pence *per annum* for twenty-one years.

It was the *report*, that ſet me the example of making a compariſon between thoſe two patents, wherein the *committee* was groſsly miſled by the falſe repreſentation of William Wood; as it was by another aſſertion, that ſeven hundred tons of copper were coined during the twenty-one years of Lord Dartmouth's and Knox's patents. Such a quantity of copper at the rate of two ſhillings and eight pence *per* pound would amount to about an hundred and ninety thouſand pounds; which was very near as much as the current caſh of the kingdom in thoſe days; yet, during that period, Ireland was never known to have too much copper coin; and for ſeveral years there was no coining at all: beſides, I am aſſured, that, upon inquiring into the cuſtomhouſe-books, all the copper imported into this kingdom from 1683 to 1692, which includes eighty years of the twenty-one (*beſides one year* allowed for the troubles) did not exceed

forty-

forty ſeven tons. And we cannot ſuppoſe even that ſmall quantity to have been wholly applied to coinage; ſo that I believe there was never any compariſon more unluckily made, or ſo deſtructive of the deſign for which it was produced.

The *pſalmiſt* reckons it an effect of God's anger, when *he ſelleth his people for nought, and taketh no money for them.* That we have greatly offended God by the wickedneſs of our lives, is not to be diſputed; but our King we have not offended in word or deed; and although he be God's vicegerent upon earth, he will not puniſh us for any offences, except thoſe we ſhall commit againſt his legal authority, his ſacred perſon (which God preſerve), or the laws of the land.

The *report* is very profuſe in arguments, that Ireland is in great want of copper money. Who were the witneſſes to prove it, hath been ſhewn already: but, in the name of God, who are to be *judges?* Does not the nation beſt know its own wants? Both houſes of *parliament*, the *privy council*, and the whole body of the people, declare the contrary. Or, let the wants be what they will, we deſire they may not be ſupplied by Mr Wood: we know our own wants but too well; they are *many*, and *grievous* to be borne, but quite of another kind. Let England be ſatisfied: as things go, they will in a ſhort time have all our gold and ſilver, and may keep their adulterate copper at home, for we are determined not to purchaſe it with our manufactures, which Wood hath graciouſly offered to accept. Our *wants* are not ſo bad by a hundredth part as the method he hath taken to ſupply them. He hath already tried his faculty in New-England; and I hope he will meet at leaſt with an *equal reception* here; what *that* was, I leave to public intelligence. I am ſuppoſing a wild caſe; that if there ſhould be any perſon already receiving a monſtrous penſion out of this kingdom, who was inſtrumental in procuring the *patent*, they have either not well conſulted their own intereſts, or Wood muſt put more droſs into his copper, and ſtill diminiſh its weight.

Upon Wood's complaint, that the officers of the King's revenue here *had already given* orders to all the inferior

officers not to receive any of his coin; the *report* ſays, that *this cannot but be looked upon as a very extraordinary proceeding*, and contrary to the powers given in the patent. The *committee* ſay, they *cannot adviſe his Majeſty to give directions to the officers of the revenue here, not to receive or utter any of the ſaid coin, as hath been deſired in the addreſſes of both houſes;* but, on the contrary, they *think it both juſt and reaſonable, that the King ſhould immediately give orders to the commiſſioners of the revenue, &c. to revoke all orders, &c. that may have been given by them to hinder or obſtruct the receiving the ſaid coin.* And accordingly, we are told, ſuch orders are arrived. Now, this was a caſt of Wood's politics; for his information was wholly falſe and groundleſs, which he knew very well; and that the commiſſioners of the revenue here were all, except one, ſent us from England, and love their employments too well to have taken ſuch a ſtep: but Wood was wiſe enough to conſider, that ſuch orders of *revocation* would be an open declaration of the crown in his favour, would put the government here under a difficulty, would make a noiſe, and poſſibly create ſome terror in the poor people of Ireland. And one great point he hath gained, that although any orders of revocation will be needleſs, yet a new order is to be ſent (and perhaps is already here) to the commiſſioners of the revenue, and all the King's officers in Ireland, that Wood's *halfpence be ſuffered and permitted, without any let, ſuit, trouble, moleſtation, or denial of any of the King's officers or miniſters whatſoever, to paſs, and be received as* current money *by ſuch as ſhall be* willing *to receive them.* In this order there is no exception; and therefore, as far as I can judge, it includes all *officers*, both *civil* and *military*, from th *Lord High Chancellor* to a *juſtice of peace*, and from the *general* to an *enſign;* ſo that Wood's project is not likely to fail for want of *managers* enough. For my own part, as things ſtand, I have but little regret to find myſelf out of the *number;* and therefore I ſhall continue in all humility to exhort and warn my fellow-ſubjects never to receive or utter this coin, which will reduce the kingdom to beggary by much *quicker and larger ſteps* than *have hitherto* been taken.

But it is needleſs to argue any longer. The matter is come to an iſſue. His Majeſty, *purſuant to the law*, hath left the *field* open between Wood and the kingdom of Ireland. Wood hath liberty to *offer* his coin, and we have *law*, *reaſon*, *liberty*, and *neceſſity* to *refuſe* it. A knaviſh jockey may ride an old foundered jade about the market, but none are obliged to buy it. I hope the words *voluntary*, and *willing to receive* it, will be underſtood and applied in their true natural meaning, as *commonly underſtood by Proteſtants*. For if a *fierce captain* comes to my ſhop to buy ſix yards of ſcarlet cloth, followed by a porter laden with a ſack of Wood's coin upon his ſhoulders; if we are agreed about the price, and my ſcarlet lies ready cut upon the counter; if he then gives me the *word of command* to receive my money in Wood's *coin*, and calls me a *diſaffected Jacobite dog* for refuſing it, (although I am as loyal a ſubject as himſelf, and *without hire*), and thereupon ſeizes my cloth, leaving me the price in this odious copper, and bids me take my remedy: In this caſe I ſhall hardly be brought to think, that I am *left to my own will*. I ſhall therefore, on ſuch occaſions, firſt order the porter aforeſaid to go off with his pack; and then ſee the money in ſilver and gold in my poſſeſſion before I cut or meaſure my cloth. But if a *common ſoldier* drinks his pot firſt, and then offers payment in Wood's *halfpence*, the *landlady* may be under ſome difficulty; for if ſhe complains to his *captain* or *enſign*, they are likewiſe *officers* included in this general order for encouraging theſe *halfpence* to paſs as *current money*. If ſhe goes to a *juſtice of peace*, he is alſo an *officer*, to whom this general order is directed. I do therefore adviſe her to follow my practice, which I have already begun, and be paid for her goods before ſhe parts with them. However, I ſhould have been content, for ſome reaſons, that the *military gentlemen* had been excepted by name; becauſe I have heard it ſaid, that their diſcipline is beſt confined within their own diſtrict.

His Majeſty, in the concluſion of his anſwer to the addreſs of the houſe of Lords againſt ood's Wcoin, is pleaſed to ſay, that *he will doevery thing in his power to the ſatisfaction of his people*. It ſhould ſeem therefore, that the

the recalling the patent is not to be underſtood a
in his power. But however, ſince the law doth
lige us to receive this coin, and conſequently t
leaves it to our voluntary choice, there is nothin
ing to preſerve us from ruin, but that the whole
ſhould continue in a firm, determinate reſolution
receive or utter this *fatal coin*. After which, l
ficers, to whom theſe orders are directed, (I w
lingly except the *military*), come with their *exh*
their *arguments*, and their *eloquence*, to perſuade
our intereſt in our undoing. Let Wood and his
ces travel about the country with *cart-loads* of th
and ſee who will take it off their hands; there w
fear of his being robbed; for a *highwayman* wo
to touch it.

I am only in pain how the *commiſſioners* of the
will proceed in this juncture; becauſe, I am t
are obliged by act of parliament to take nothing
and *ſilver* in payment for his Majeſty's *cuſtom*
think they cannot juſtly offer this coinage of N
to others, unleſs they will be content to receive
ſelves.

The ſum of the whole is this: The *committe*
the King to ſend immediate orders to all his offic
that Wood's *coin be ſuffered and permitted wit*
let, ſuit, trouble, &c. to paſs, and to be rec
current money *by ſuch as ſhall be* willing *to re*
ſame. It is probable, that the firſt *willing*
may be thoſe who muſt *receive it whether the*
no, at leaſt under the penalty of loſing an offi
the landed *undepending men*, the *merchants*, t
keepers, and bulk of the people, I hope, and ar
confident, will never receive it. What muſt th
quence be? the owners will ſell it for as much
can get. Wood's *halfpence* will come to be of
ſix a penny, (yet then he will be a ſufficient gain
the *neceſſary receivers* will be loſers of two thirds
ſalaries or *pay*.

This puts me in mind of a paſſage I was told m
ago in England. At a quarterſeſſion in Leic
juſtices had wiſely decreed to take off a *halfp*

the price of ale. One of them, who came in
ing was determined, being informed of what
ſaid thus: *Gentlemen, you have made an or-*
e ſhould be ſold in our county for three half-
rt; I deſire you will now make another to ap-
uſt drink it; for by G— I will not.
:g leave to caution your *Lordſhips* and *Wor-*
particular. Wood hath graciouſly promiſed
preſent only with forty thouſand pounds of
til the exigencies of the kingdom require the
eat you will never ſuffer Mr Wood to be a
ır *exigencies*. While there is one piece of *fil-*
eft in the kingdom, he will call it an *exigency*.
ble his preſent *quantum* by ſtealth as ſoon as
will pour his own *raps* and *counterfeits* upon
and Holland will do the ſame; nor will our
at home be behind them: to confirm which, I
my pocket a *rap*, or counterfeit halfpenny, in
his; but ſo ill performed, that in my con-
ieve it is not of his coining.
ıw deſire your *Lordſhips* and *Worſhips*, that
great allowance for this long undigeſted pa-
myſelf to have gone into ſeveral repetitions,
he effects of haſte, while new thoughts fell in
hing to what I had ſaid before. I think I may
I have fully anſwered every paragraph in the
:h, although it be not unartfully drawn, and is
he ſpirit of a pleader, who can find the moſt
es in behalf of his client, yet there was no
quired to detect the many miſtakes contained
however are by no means to be charged upon
ɔnourable *committee*, but upon the moſt falſe,
ıd fraudulent repreſentations of Wood and
:es. I deſire one particular may dwell upon
although I have mentioned it more than once;
the weight laid upon *precedents*, there is not
l in the whole *report* of a patent for coining
ıgland to paſs in Ireland; and only two pa-
l to, (for indeed there were no more), which
ıſſed in Ireland, by references to the King's
both leſs advantageous to the coiner than this

of

of Wood; and in both, *ſecurities given to receive the coin at every call, and give gold and ſilver in lieu of it.* This demonſtrates the moſt flagrant falſehood and impudence of Wood, by which he would endeavour to make the Right Honourable *committee* his inſtruments, (for his own illegal and exorbitant gain), to ruin a kingdom which has deſerved *quite different treatment.*

I am very ſenſible, that ſuch a work as I have undertaken might have worthily employed a much better pen: but when a houſe is attempted to be robbed, it often happens that the weakeſt in the family runs firſt to ſtop the door. All the aſſiſtance I had, were ſome informations from an eminent *perſon;* whereof I am afraid I have ſpoiled a few by endeavouring to make them of a piece with my own productions, and the reſt I was not able to manage: I was in the caſe of David, who *could not move in the armour of* Saul; and therefore I rather choſe to attack this *uncircumciſed* Philiſtine (Wood I mean) *with a ſling and a ſtone.* And I may ſay for Wood's honour, as well as my own, that he reſembles Goliath in many circumſtances very applicable to the preſent purpoſe: for Goliath had *a helmet of* braſs *upon his head, and he was armed with a coat of mail, and the weight of the coat was five thouſand ſhekels of* braſs, *and he had greaves of* braſs *upon his legs, and a target of* braſs *between his ſhoulders.* In ſhort, he was like Mr Wood, all over *braſs*, and *he defied the armies of the living* God. Goliath's conditions of combat were likewiſe the ſame with thoſe of Wood: *if he prevail againſt us, then ſhall we be his ſervants.* But if it happens that I *prevail* over him, I renounce the other part of the condition; he ſhall never be a *ſervant* of mine; for I do not think him fit to be truſted in any honeſt man's ſhop.

I will conclude with my humble deſire and requeſt which I made in my ſecond letter, that your *Lordſhips* and *Worſhips* would pleaſe to order a *declaration* to be drawn up, expreſſing in the ſtrongeſt terms your reſolutions never to receive or utter any of Wood's halfpence or farthings; and forbidding your tenants to receive them: that the ſaid *declaration*

n may be ſigned by [illegible] perſons as poſſible *, /e eſtates in this kingdom, and be ſent down to 'eral tenants aforeſaid

if the dread of Wood's halfpence ſhould continue :xt *quarterſeſſions*, which I hope it will not, the en of every county will then have a fair op- y of declaring againſt them with unanimity and

I am, with the greateſt reſpect,

May it pleaſe your Lordſhips and Worſhips),

Your moſt dutiful and

obedient ſervant,

25. 1724.

M. B.

eclaration purſuant to this requeſt was ſigned ſoon af- ıe moſt conſiderable perſons of the kingdom, which was lly ſpread, and of great uſe.

LETTER

LETTER I

To the whole PEOPLE of IR

My dear Countrymen,

HAving already written three LETTER agreeable a ſubject as Mr Wood and I conceived my taſk was at an end; but I fin muſt be frequently applied to weak conſtitu as well as *natural.* A people long uſed to by degrees the very notions of *liberty;* tl themſelves as creatures at mercy, and that laid on them by a ſtronger hand are, in the report, *legal* and *obligatory.* Hence proce and *lowneſs* of *ſpirit,* to which a *kingdom* as well as a *particular perſon.* And wh fainting from the field at the point to die, i that he ſold his *birth-right for a meſs of p*

I thought I had ſufficiently ſhewn to all v inſtruction, by what methods they might whenever this *coin* ſhould be offered to the lieve, there hath not been for many ages any kingdom ſo firmly united in a point of gr as this of ours is at preſent againſt that de But however, it ſo happens, that ſome wea to be alarmed anew by rumours induſtriouſly preſcribes to the news-mongers in London w write. In one of their papers publiſhed he ſcure printer, (and certainly with a bad d told, that the *Papiſts in* Ireland *have entei ſociation againſt his coin:* although it be notc that they never once offered to ſtir in the n the two houſes of parliament, the privy cou numbers of corporations, the Lord Mayor a Dublin, the grand juries, and principal ge veral counties, are ſtigmatized in a lump u of *Papiſts.*

This impoſtor and his crew do likewiſe give out, that by refuſing to receive his droſs for Sterling, we *diſpute the King's prerogative, are grown ripe for rebellion, and ready to ſhake off the dependency of* Ireland *upon the crown of* England. To countenance which reports he hath publiſhed a paragraph in another news-paper to let us know, that *the Lord Lieutenant is ordered to come over immediately to ſettle his halfpence.*

I intreat you, my dear countrymen, not to be under the leaſt concern upon theſe, and the like rumours, which are no more than the laſt howls of a dog diſſected alive, as I hope he hath ſufficiently been. Theſe calumnies are the only reſerve that is left him. For ſurely our continued and almoſt) unexampled loyalty will never be called in queſtion, for not ſuffering ourſelves to be robbed of all that we have by one obſcure *ironmonger*.

As to diſputing the King's *prerogative*, give me leave to explain to thoſe who are ignorant, what the meaning of that word, *prerogative*, is.

The kings of theſe realms enjoy ſeveral powers, wherein the laws have not interpoſed; ſo they can make war and peace without the conſent of parliament, and this is a very great *prerogative:* but if the parliament doth not approve of the war, the King muſt bear the charge of it out of his own purſe; and this is as great a check on the crown. So the King hath a *prerogative* to coin money without conſent of parliament: but he cannot compel the ſubject to take that money, except it be Sterling, gold or ſilver; becauſe herein he is limited by law. Some princes have indeed extended their *prerogative* farther than the law allowed them: wherein however the lawyers of ſucceeding ages, as fond as they are of *precedents*, have never dared to juſtify them. But, to ſay the truth, it is only of late times that *prerogative* hath been fixed and aſcertained. For whoever reads the hiſtory of England will find, that ſome former kings, and thoſe none of the worſt, have upon ſeveral occaſions ventured to control the laws, with very little ceremony or ſcruple, even later than the days of Queen Eliſabeth. In her reign, that pernicious counſel of ſending *baſe money* hither very narrowly failed of loſing the *kingdom*; being complained of by the Lord

Deputy, the council, and the whole body of the Engliſh here: ſo that, ſoon after her death, it was recalled by her ſucceſſor, and lawful money paid in exchange.

Having thus given you ſome notion of what is meant by the King's *prerogative*, as far as a *tradeſman* can be thought capable of explaining it, I will only add the opinion of the great Lord Bacon, that *as* GOD *governs the world by the ſettled laws of nature, which he hath made, and never tranſcends thoſe laws but upon high, important occaſions: ſo, among earthly princes, thoſe are the wiſeſt and the beſt, who govern by the known laws of the country, and ſeldomeſt make uſe of their* prerogative.

Now here you may ſee, that the vile accuſation of Wood and his *accomplices*, charging us with *diſputing the King's prerogative* by refuſing his braſs, can have no place; becauſe compelling the ſubject to take any coin, which is not Sterling, is no part of the King's *prerogative;* and I am very confident, if it were ſo, we ſhould be the laſt of his people to diſpute it, as well from that inviolable loyalty we have always paid to his Majeſty, as from the treatment we might in ſuch a caſe juſtly expect *from ſome* who ſeem to think we have neither *common ſenſe, nor common ſenſes*. But, God be thanked, the beſt of them are only our *fellow-ſubjects*, and not our *maſters*. One great merit I am ſure we have, which thoſe of Engliſh birth can have no pretence to, that our anceſtors reduced this kingdom to the obedience of ENGLAND; for which we have been rewarded with a *worſe climate*, the privilege of being governed by laws to which we do not conſent, a ruined trade, a houſe of *Peers* without *juriſdiction*, almoſt an incapacity for all employments, and the dread of Wood's halfpence.

But we are ſo far from diſputing the King's *prerogative* in coining, that we own he hath power to give a patent to any man for ſetting his royal image and ſuperſcription upon whatever materials he pleaſes; and liberty to the patentee to offer them in any country from England to Japan, only attended with one ſmall limitation, that *no body alive is obliged to take them.*

Upon theſe conſiderations I was ever againſt all recourſe

to England for a remedy againſt the preſent impending evil; eſpecially when I obſerved, that the addreſſes of both houſes after long expectance produced nothing but a REPORT altogether in favour of Wood; upon which I made ſome obſervations in a former letter, and might at leaſt have made as many more; for it is a paper of as ſingular a nature as I ever beheld.

But I miſtake: for before this *report* was made, his Majeſty's *moſt gracious anſwer* to the houſe of Lords was ſent over, and printed; wherein are theſe words, *granting the patent for coining halfpence and farthings*, AGREEABLE TO THE PRACTICE OF HIS ROYAL PREDECESSORS, *&c.* That King Charles II. and King James II. (AND THEY ONLY) did grant patents for this purpoſe, is indiſputable, and I have ſhewn it at large. Their patents were paſſed under the great ſeal of Ireland, by references to Ireland, the copper to be coined in Ireland; the patentee was bound on demand to receive his coin back in Ireland, and pay ſilver and gold in return. Wood's patent was made under the great ſeal of England, the braſs coined in England, not the leaſt reference made to Ireland; the ſum immenſe, and the patentee under no obligation to receive it again, and give good money for it. This I only mention, becauſe in my private thoughts I have ſometimes made a query, whether the *penner* of thoſe words in his Majeſty's *moſt gracious anſwer*, AGREEABLE TO THE PRACTICE OF HIS ROYAL PREDECESSORS, had maturely conſidered the ſeveral circumſtances, which in my poor opinion ſeem to make a difference *.

Let me now ſay ſomething concerning the other great cauſe of ſome people's fear, as Wood has taught the London news-writer to expreſs it, that *his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant is coming over to ſettle* Wood's *halfpence*.

We know very well, that the Lords Lieutenants for ſeveral years paſt have not thought this kingdom *worthy the honour of their reſidence*, longer than was abſolutely neceſſary for the King's buſineſs; which conſequently

* *See the note* at the end of this letter.

wanted no ſpeed in the diſpatch. And therefor
turally fell into moſt mens thoughts, that a new g
coming at an *unuſual* time, muſt portend ſome *un*
ſineſs to be done; eſpecially if the common report
that the parliament, prorogued to I know not whe
a new ſummons revoking that prorogation to aſſem
after his arrival; for which extraordinary procee
lawyers on t'other ſide the water have by great g
tune found two *precedents.*

All this being granted, it can never enter into
that ſo *little a creature as* Wood could find credi
with the King and his miniſters to have the Lo
tenant of Ireland ſent hither in a hurry upon his
For, let us take the whole matter nakedly, as i
fore us, without the refinements of ſome peop
which we have nothing to do. Here is a patent gra
der the great ſeal of England, upon falſe ſuggeſtion
William Wood for coining copper *halfpence* for
the parliament here, upon apprehenſions of the w
ſequences from the ſaid patent, addreſs the King
it recalled: this is refuſed, and a committee of
council *report* to his Majeſty, that Wood has pe
the conditions of his patent. He then is left t
beſt he can with his *halfpence*, no man being ob
receive them; the people here being likewiſe left
ſelves, unite as one man, reſolving they will have
to do with his ware. By this plain account of th
is manifeſt, that the King and his miniſtry are wh
of the caſe, and the matter is left to be diſputed
him and us. Will any man therefore attempt to
me, that a lord lieutenant is to be diſpatched over
haſte before the ordinary time, and a parliament
ed by anticipating a prorogation, merely to put
dred thouſand pounds into the pocket of a *ſharpe*
ruin of a moſt loyal kingdom?

But ſuppoſing all this to be true; by what ar
could a lord lieutenant prevail on the ſame pa
which addreſſed with ſo much zeal and earneſtne
this evil, to paſs it into a law? I am ſure their o
Wood and his project are not mended ſince their
rogation: and ſuppoſing thoſe *methods* ſhould

which *detractors* tell us have been ſometimes put in practice for *gaining votes*, it is well known, that in this kingdom there are few employments to be given; and, if there were more, it is *as well known* to whoſe ſhare they muſt fall.

But, becauſe great numbers of you are altogether ignorant of the affairs of your country, I will tell you ſome reaſons, why there are ſo few employments to be diſpoſed of in this kingdom. All conſiderable offices for life here are poſſeſſed by thoſe to whom the reverſions were granted; and theſe have been generally followers of the chief governors, or perſons who had intereſt in the court of England: ſo the Lord Berkeley of Stratton holds that great office of *maſter of the rolls*; the Lord Palmerſton is *firſt remembrancer*, worth near 2000 *l. per annum*. One Dodington, ſecretary to the Earl of Pembroke, begged the reverſion of *clerk of the pells*, worth 2500 *l.* a-year, which he now enjoys by the death of the Lord Newton. Mr Southwell is ſecretary of ſtate, and the Earl of Burlington lord high treaſurer of Ireland by inheritance. Theſe are only a few among many others which I have been told of, but cannot remember. Nay, the reverſion of ſeveral employments during pleaſure is granted the ſame way. This among many others is a circumſtance, whereby the kingdom of Ireland is diſtinguiſhed from all other nations upon earth, and makes it ſo difficult an affair to get into a civil employ, that Mr Addiſon was forced to purchaſe an old obſcure place, called *keeper of the records in* Bermingham's *tower*, of ten pounds a-year, and to get a ſalary of 400 *l.* annexed to it, though all the records there are not worth half a crown either for curioſity or uſe. And we lately ſaw a *favourite ſecretary* * deſcend to be *maſter of the revels*, which by his *credit and extortion* he hath made *pretty conſiderable*. I ſay nothing of the under-treaſurerſhip worth about 9000 *l.* a-year, nor of the commiſſioners of the revenue, four of whom generally live in England; for I think none of theſe are granted in reverſion. But the jeſt is, that I have known, upon occaſion, ſome of theſe abſent officers as *keen* againſt the intereſt of Ire-

* Mr Hopkins, *ſecretary to the* Duke of Graſton.

land as if they had never been indebted to her for a *ſingle groat*.

I confeſs I have been ſometimes tempted to wiſh, that this project of Wood might ſucceed; becauſe I reflected with ſome pleaſure, what a *jolly crew* it would bring over among us of *lords*, and *'ſquires*, and *penſioners* of *both ſexes*, and officers *civil* and *military*, where we ſhould live together as merry and ſociable as beggars; only with this one abatement, that we ſhould neither have *meat* to feed, nor *manufactures* to clothe us, unleſs we could be content to prance about in coats of mail, or eat *braſs* as oſtriches do *iron*.

I return from this digreſſion to that which gave me the occaſion of making it: and I believe you are now convinced, that if the parliament of Ireland were as *temptable* as any *other* aſſembly within a mile of Chriſtendom, (which God forbid); yet the managers muſt of neceſſity fail for want of tools to work with. But I will yet go one ſtep further by ſuppoſing, that a hundred new employments were erected on purpoſe to gratify compliers: yet ſtill an inſuperable difficulty would remain. For it happens, I know not how, that *money* is neither *Whig* nor *Tory*, neither of town nor country party; and it is not improbable, that a gentleman would rather chuſe to live upon his own eſtate, which brings him gold and ſilver, than with the addition of an employment, when his rents and ſalary muſt both be paid in Wood's braſs, at above eighty *per cent.* diſcount.

For theſe, and many other reaſons, I am confident you need not be under the leaſt apprehenſions from the ſudden expectation of the *Lord Lieutenant* *, while we continue in our preſent hearty diſpoſition, to alter which no ſuitable temptation can poſſibly be offered. And if, as I have often aſſerted from the beſt authority, the *law* hath not left a *power* in the *crown* to force any money, except Sterling, upon the ſubject; much leſs can the crown *devolve* ſuch a *power* upon *another*.

This I ſpeak with the utmoſt reſpect to the *perſon* and *dignity* of his Excellency the Lord Carteret, whoſe character was lately given me by a gentleman that hath known

* *Lord Carteret*, now Earl Granville.

is firſt appearance in the world: that gentleman
aim as a young man of great accompliſhments,
earning, regular in his life, and of much ſpirit
y. He hath ſince, as I have heard, been employ-
; was principal ſecretary of ſtate; and is now
thirty-ſeventh year of his age appointed Lord
of Ireland. From ſuch a governor this king-
reaſonably hope for as much proſperity as, *un-
y diſcouragements*, it can be capable of recei-

e indeed, that within the memory of man there
governors of ſo much dexterity, as to carry
terrible conſequence to this kingdom by their
h *thoſe who are in office*; and by their arts in
or deluding others with *oaths*, *affability*, and e-
dinners. If Wood's braſs had in thoſe times
the anvil, it is obvious enough to conceive what
would have been taken. *Depending* perſons
e been told in plain terms, that it was a *ſervice*
*rom them under the pain of the public buſineſs
into more complying hands*. Others would be
promiſes. To the *country-gentlemen*, beſides
s, burgundy, and *cloſetting*, it might perhaps
hinted, how *kindly it would be taken to comply
yal patent, although it were not compulſory*:
y inconveniencies enſued, it might be made up
r *graces or favours hereafter*: that *gentlemen
nſider, whether it were prudent or ſafe to diſ-
nd*: they would be deſired to *think of ſome good
ncouraging of trade, and ſetting the poor to
ne further acts againſt Popery, and for uniting
's*. There would be ſolemn engagements, that
l never be troubled with *above forty thouſand
his coin, and all of the beſt and weightieſt ſort,
we ſhould only give our manufactures in ex-
nd keep our gold and ſilver at home*. Perhaps a
*report of ſome invaſion would have been ſpread
proper juncture*; which is a great ſmoother
public proceedings: and we ſhould have been
*this was no time to create differences, when the
vas in danger*.

Theſe, I ſay, and the like methods, would in corr times have been taken to let in this deluge of *braſs* am us. And, I am confident, even then would not h ſucceeded; much leſs under the adminiſtration of ſo cellent a perſon as the Lord CARTERET; and in a co try where the people of all ranks, parties, and deno nations, are convinced to a man, that the utter undo of themſelves and their poſterity for ever will be da from the admiſſion of that execrable coin: that if it o enters, it can be no more confined to a ſmall or moder quantity, than a *plague* can be confined to a few famili and that no *equivalent* can be given by any earthly pow any more than a dead carcaſe can be recovered to life b cordial.

There is one comfortable circumſtance in this unive oppoſition to Mr. Wood, that the people ſent over hit from England to *fill up our vacancies, eccleſiaſtical, ci and military*, are all on our ſide. *Money*, the great *vider* of the world, hath by a ſtrange revolution been great *uniter* of a moſt *divided* people. Who would le a hundred pounds a-year in England (*a country of fr dom*) to be paid a thouſand in Ireland out of Wood's e chequer? The *gentleman* they have lately made *primate* would never quit his ſeat in an Engliſh houſe of Lor and his preferments at Oxford and Briſtol worth twel hundred pounds a-year, for four times the denominati here, but not half the value.; therefore I expect to he he will be as good an Iriſhman at leaſt upon *this one a ticle* as any of his brethren, or even of *us*, who have had t *misfortune* to be born in this iſland. For thoſe who, the common phraſe, do not *come hither to learn the la guage*, would never change a better country for a worſe, receive *braſs* inſtead of *gold*.

Another ſlander ſpread by Wood and his emiſſaries i that by oppoſing him we diſcover an inclination to *ſha off our dependence upon the crown of* England. Pray ob ſerve how important a perſon is this ſame William Wood and how the public weal of two kingdoms is involved i his private intereſt. Firſt, all thoſe who refuſe to tak

* Dr Hugh Boulter.

his coin are *Papiſts*; for he tells us, that *none but* Papiſts *are aſſociated againſt him*. Secondly, they *diſpute the King's prerogative*. Thirdly, they *are ripe for rebellion*. And, fourthly, they are going to *ſhake off their dependence upon the crown of* England; that is to ſay, *they are going to chuſe another king*; for there can be no other meaning in this expreſſion, however ſome may pretend to ſtrain it.

And this gives me an opportunity of explaining to thoſe who are ignorant, another point, which hath often *ſwelled in my breaſt*. Thoſe who come over hither to us from England, and ſome *weak* people among ourſelves, whenever in diſcourſe we make mention of *liberty* and *property*, ſhake their heads, and tell us, that * Ireland is a *depending kingdom*; as if they would ſeem by this phraſe to intend, that the people of Ireland are in ſome ſtate of ſlavery or dependence different from thoſe of England; whereas a *depending kingdom* is a *modern term of art*, unknown, as I have heard, to all ancient *civilians*, and *writers upon government*; and Ireland is, on the contrary, called in ſome ſtatutes an *imperial crown*, as held only from God; which is as high a ſtyle as any kingdom is capable of receiving. Therefore by this expreſſion, a *depending kingdom*, there is no more to be underſtood, than that, by a ſtatute made here in the thirty-third year of Henry VIII. *the King, and his ſucceſſors, are to be Kings imperial of this realm, as united and knit to the imperial crown of* England. I have looked over all the Engliſh and Iriſh ſtatutes without finding any law that makes Ireland depend upon England, any more than England doth upon Ireland. We have indeed obliged ourſelves to have *the ſame King with them*; and conſequently they are obliged to have the *ſame King with us*. For the law was made by *our own parliament*; and our anceſtors then were not ſuch *fools (whatever they were in the preceding reign)* to bring themſelves under I know not what *dependence*, which is now talked of, without any ground of *law, reaſon*, or *common ſenſe*.

Let who ever think otherwiſe, I, M. B. *drapier*, deſire

* See the note at the end of this letter.

to be excepted: for I declare, next under GOD I *de*
only on the King my Sovereign, and on the laws of my
country. And I am ſo far from *depending* upon the pe
of England, that, if they ſhould ever *rebel* againſt
Sovereign, (which God forbid), I would be ready at the
command from his Majeſty to take arms againſt them
ſome of *my* countrymen did againſt *theirs* at Preſton.
if ſuch a rebellion ſhould prove ſo ſucceſsful as to fix
pretender on the throne of England, I would ventur
tranſgreſs that *ſtatute* ſo far, as to loſe every drop of
blood to hinder him from being King of Ireland *.

It is true indeed, that within the memory of man
parliaments of England have *ſometimes* aſſumed the pc
of binding this kingdom by laws enacted there; whe
they were at firſt openly oppoſed (as far as *truth*, *rea*
and *juſtice* are capable of *oppoſing*) by the famous
Molineux, an Engliſh gentleman born here, as well a
ſeveral of the greateſt patriots and *beſt Whigs* in Engl
but the *love* and *torrent* of power prevailed. Indeed
arguments on both ſides were invincible. For in *rea*
all *government* without the conſent of the *governed*, is
very *definition of ſlavery*: but in fact, *eleven men*
armed will certainly ſubdue one ſingle man in his ſl
But I have done: for thoſe who have uſed *power* to cr
liberty, have gone ſo far as to reſent even the *liberty*
complaining; although a man upon the rack was n
known to be refuſed the liberty of *roaring* as loud a
thought fit.

And as we are apt to *ſink* too much under *unreaſon*
fears, ſo we are too ſoon inclined to be *raiſed* by grou
leſs hopes, according to the nature of all *conſumptive*
dies like ours. Thus it hath been given about for ſev
days paſt, that *ſomebody* in England empowered a ſec
ſomebody to write to a third *ſomebody* here to aſſure us,
we *ſhould no more be troubled with theſe halfpence*.
this is reported to have been done by the *ſame perſo*
who is ſaid to have ſworn ſome months ago, that he wo
ram them down their throats, (though I doubt they wo

* This paragraph gave great offence. See letter 5.
† *Mr* Walpole, afterwards Earl of Orford.

ſtick in our ſtomachs): but which ever of theſe reports be true or falſe, it is no concern of ours. For in this point we have nothing to do with Engliſh *miniſters*; and I ſhould be ſorry to leave it in their power to redreſs this grievance, or to enforce it; for the *report of the committee* hath given me a *ſurfeit*. The remedy is wholly in your own hands; and therefore I have digreſſed a little in order to refreſh and continue that *ſpirit* ſo ſeaſonably raiſed amongſt you; and to let you ſee, that by the laws of GOD, of NATURE, of NATIONS, and of your COUNTRY, you ARE, and OUGHT to be as FREE a people as your brethren in England.

If the pamphlets publiſhed at London by Wood and his *journeymen* in defence of his cauſe were reprinted here, and that our countrymen could be perſuaded to read them, they would convince you of his wicked deſign, more than all I ſhall ever be able to ſay. In ſhort, I make him a perfect *ſaint* in compariſon of what he appears to be from the writings of thoſe whom he *hires* to juſtify his *project*. But he is ſo far *maſter of the field* (*let others gueſs the reaſon*), that no London printer dare publiſh any paper written in favour of Ireland: and here no body hath yet been ſo *bold* as to publiſh any thing in *favour* of him.

There was, a few days ago, a pamphlet ſent me of near fifty pages written in favour of Mr Wood and his coinage, printed in London: it is not worth anſwering, becauſe probably it will never be publiſhed here. But it gave me occaſion to reflect upon an unhappineſs we lie under, that the people of England are utterly ignorant of our caſe; which however is no wonder, ſince it is a point they do not in the leaſt concern themſelves about, farther than perhaps as a ſubject of diſcourſe in a coffeehouſe when they have nothing elſe to talk of. For I have reaſon to believe, that no *miniſter* ever gave himſelf the trouble of reading any papers written in our defence, becauſe I ſuppoſe their *opinions are already determined*, and are formed wholly upon the reports of Wood and his accomplices: elſe it would be impoſſible, that any man could have the impudence to write ſuch a pamphlet as I have mentioned.

Our *neighbours, whoſe underſtandings are juſt upon a level with ours* (*which* perhaps are none of the brighteſt),

have

have a ſtrong contempt for moſt nations, but eſpecially for Ireland. They look upon us as a ſort of *ſavage* Iriſh, whom our anceſtors conquered ſeveral hundred years ago. And if I ſhould deſcribe the Britons to you as they were in Cæſar's time, when they *painted their bodies, or clothed themſelves with the ſkins of beaſts*, I ſhould act full as reaſonably as they do. However, they are ſo far to be excuſed in relation to the preſent ſubject, that hearing only *one ſide of the cauſe*, and having neither opportunity nor curioſity to examine the *other*, they *believe a lie* merely for their eaſe; and conclude, becauſe Mr Wood pretends to have *power*, he hath alſo *reaſon* on his ſide.

Therefore, to let you ſee how this caſe is repreſented in England by Wood and his adherents, I have thought it proper to extract out of that pamphlet a few of thoſe notorious falſehoods in point of *fact* and *reaſoning* contained therein, the knowledge whereof will confirm my countrymen in their *own* right ſentiments, when they will ſee, by comparing both, how much their *enemies* are in the *wrong*.

Firſt, the writer poſitively aſſerts, *That* Wood's *halfpence were current among us for ſeveral months, with the univerſal approbation of all people, without one ſingle gainſayer; and we all, to a man, thought ourſelves happy in having them.*

Secondly, he affirms, *That we were drawn into a diſlike of them only by ſome cunning, evil-deſigning men among us, who oppoſed this patent of* Wood *to get another for themſelves.*

Thirdly, That *thoſe who moſt declared at firſt againſt* Wood's *patent, were the very men who intend to get another for their own advantage.*

Fourthly, That *our parliament and privy council, the Lord Mayor and aldermen of* Dublin, *the grand juries and merchants, and in ſhort the whole kingdom, nay, the very dogs* (as he expreſſeth it), *were fond of thoſe halfpence, till they were inflamed by thoſe few deſigning perſons aforeſaid.*

Fifthly, he ſays directly, That *all thoſe who oppoſed the halfpence, were Papiſts, and enemies to King* George.

11

s far, I am confident, the moſt ignorant among you ely ſwear from your own knowledge, that the au- a moſt notorious liar in every article; the direct y being ſo manifeſt to the whole kingdom, that, if s required, we might get it confirmed under *five d thouſand hands.*

ıly, he would perſuade us, That *if we ſell five y worth of our goods or manufactures for two s and four pence worth of copper, although the were melted down, and that we could get five s in gold and ſilver for the ſaid goods; yet to take d two ſhillings and four pence in copper would be for our advantage.*

, laſtly, he makes us a very fair offer, as impowered od, That *if we will take off two hundred thouſand in his halfpence for our goods, and likewiſe pay ree* per cent. *intereſt for thirty years for an hun- nd twenty thouſand pounds* (at which he computes nage above the intrinſic value of the copper) *for the his coin, he will after that time give us good mo- what halfpence will be then left.*

me place this offer in as clear a light as I can to e inſupportable villany and impudence of that in- ble wretch. Firſt, (ſays he), *I will ſend two hun- houſand pounds of my coin into your country: the I compute to be, in real value, eighty thouſand , and I charge you with an hundred and twenty d pounds for the coinage; ſo that you ſee, I lend hundred and twenty thouſand pounds for thirty for which you ſhall pay me three* per cent. *that y, three thouſand ſix hundred pounds* per annum, *n thirty years will amount to an hundred and eight d pounds. And when theſe thirty years are expired, me my copper, and I will give you good money for*

is the propoſal made to us by Wood in that pam- ritten by one of his *commiſſioners:* and the author ıſed to be the ſame infamous Coleby, one of his ſwearers at the *committee of council*, who was tried *hing the treaſury here*, where he was an under-

By this propoſal he will firſt receive two hundred tho ſand pounds, in goods or Sterling, for as much copper he values at eighty thouſand pounds, but in reality r worth thirty thouſand pounds. Secondly, he will r ceive for intereſt an hundred and eight thouſand pound and when our children come thirty years hence to rett his *halfpence* upon his executors, (for before that time will be probably gone to *his own place*), thoſe executo will very reaſonably reject them as raps and counterfei which they will be, and millions of them of his o coinage.

Methinks I am ſond of ſuch a *dealer* as this, who mer every day upon our hands like a Dutch reckoning, when if you diſpute the unreaſonableneſs and exorbitance of t bill, the landlord ſhall bring it up every time with n additions.

Although theſe and the like pamphlets publiſhed Wood in London are altogether unknown here, where body could read them without as much *indignation*, *contempt* would allow; yet I thought it proper to give y a ſpecimen how the man employs his time, where he ri alone without any creature to contradict him; while o FEW FRIENDS there wonder at our ſilence: and the E liſh in general, if they think of this matter at all, imp our refuſal to *wilfulneſs* or *diſaffection*, juſt as Wood a his *hirelings* are pleaſed to repreſent.

But although our arguments are not ſuffered to be pri ed in England, yet the conſequence will be of little n ment. Let Wood endeavour to perſuade the people the that we ought to *receive* his coin; and let me convi our people here, that they ought to *reject* it under pain our utter undoing; and then let him do his *beſt* and *worſt*.

Before I conclude, I muſt beg leave in all humility tell Mr Wood, that he is guilty of great *indiſcretion* cauſing ſo honourable a name as that of Mr Walpole be mentioned ſo often and in ſuch a manner upon this caſion. A ſhort paper printed at Briſtol, and reprin here, reports Mr Wood to ſay, that he *wonders at impudence and inſolence of the* Iriſh *in refuſing his co and what he will do when* Mr Walpole *comes to tow*

Wo

Where, by the way, he is miſtaken; for it is the *true* Engliſh *people* of Ireland who refuſe it, although we take it for granted, that the Iriſh will do ſo too whenever they are aſked. In another printed paper of his contriving it is roundly expreſſed, that Mr Walpole will *cram his braſs down our throats*. Sometimes it is given out, that we muſt *either take theſe halfpence, or eat our brogues:* and in another news-letter, but of yeſterday, we read, that the ſame great man *hath ſworn to make us ſwallow his coin in fire-balls*.

This brings to my mind the known ſtory of a Scotchman, who receiving the ſentence of death with all the circumſtances of *hanging, beheading, quartering, embowelling*, and the like, cried out, *What need all this* COUNTRY? and I think we have reaſon to aſk the ſame queſtion; for, if we believe Wood, here is a *dinner* getting ready for us; and you ſee the *bill of fare;* and I am ſorry the *drink* was forgot, which might eaſily be ſupplied with *melted lead* and *flaming pitch*.

What vile words are theſe to put into the mouth of a great counſellor, in high truſt with his Majeſty, and looked upon as a prime miniſter? If Mr. Wood hath no better a manner of repreſenting his patrons, when I come to be a *great man* he ſhall never be ſuffered to attend at my *levee*. This is not the ſtyle of a great miniſter; it ſavours too much of the *kettle* and the *furnace*, and came entirely out of Wood's *forge*.

As for the threat of making us *eat our brogues*, we need not be in pain; for if his coin ſhould paſs, that *unpolite covering for the feet* would no longer be a *national reproach;* becauſe then we ſhould have neither *ſhoe* nor *brogue* left in the kingdom. But here the falſehood of Mr Wood is fairly detected; for I am confident Mr Walpole never heard of a *brogue* in his whole life.

As to *ſwallowing theſe halfpence in fire-balls*, it is a ſtory equally improbable. For, to execute this operation, the whole ſtock of Mr Wood's coin and metal muſt be melted down, and moulded into hollow *balls* with *wild-fire*, no bigger than a reaſonable throat may be able to ſwallow. Now, the metal he hath prepared, and already coined, will amount to at leaſt fifty millions of halfpence

to be *ſwallowed* by a million and an half of people; ſo that, allowing two halfpence to each *ball*, there will be about ſeventeen balls of wildfire apiece to be ſwallowed by every perſon in the kingdom; and, to adminiſter this doſe, there cannot be conveniently fewer than fifty thouſand *operators*, allowing one operator to every thirty; which, conſidering the *ſqueamiſhneſs* of ſome ſtomachs, and the *peeviſhneſs* of *young children*, is but reaſonable. Now, under correction of better judgments, I think the trouble and charge of ſuch an experiment would exceed the profit; and therefore I take this report to be ſpurious, or, at leaſt, only a new ſcheme of Mr Wood himſelf; which, to make it paſs the better in Ireland, he would father upon a *miniſter of ſtate*.

But I will now demonſtrate, beyond all contradiction, that Mr Walpole is againſt this project of Mr Wood, and is an entire friend to Ireland, only by this one invincible argument, that he has the univerſal opinion of being a wiſe man, an able miniſter, and in all his proceedings purſuing the *true intereſt* of the *King his maſter*: and that as his *integrity* is above all *corruption*, ſo is his *fortune* above all *temptation*. I reckon, therefore, we are perfectly ſafe from that *corner*, and ſhall never be under the neceſſity of contending with ſo *formidable a power*, but be left to poſſeſs our *brogues* and *potatoes* in peace, as* *remote from thunder as we are from* Jupiter.

I am, my dear countrymen,
your loving fellow-ſubject,
fellow-ſufferer, and
humble ſervant,

Octob. 13. 1724. M. B.

* *Procul a Jove, procul a fulmine.*

Upon the arrival of Lord Carteret, ſoon after the publication of this letter, the paſſages from which this note is referred to were ſelected as ſufficient ground for proſecution, and a proclamation was publiſhed by his Excellency and council, offering a reward of three hundred pounds for diſcovering the author. Harding the printer was impriſoned, and a bill of indictment was ordered to be prepared againſt him: which gave occaſion to the *following paper*.

Seaſonable

Seaſonable ADVICE to the GRAND JURY, concerning the bill preparing againſt the PRINTER of the preceding LETTER.

SInce a *bill* is preparing for the *grand jury* to find againſt the printer of the Drapier's *laſt letter*, there are ſeveral things maturely to be conſidered by thoſe gentlemen before they determine upon it.

Firſt, They are to conſider, that the author of the ſaid pamphlet did write three other diſcourſes on the ſame ſubject, which, inſtead of being cenſured, were univerſally approved by the whole nation, and were allowed to have raiſed and continued that ſpirit among us, which hath hitherto kept out Wood's coin; for all men will grant, that if thoſe pamphlets had not been written, his coin muſt have over-run the nation ſome months ago.

Secondly, It is to be conſidered, that this pamphlet, againſt which a *proclamation* hath been iſſued, is written by the *ſame author*: that nobody ever doubted the innocence and goodneſs of his deſign; that he appears, through the whole tenor of it, to be a *loyal ſubject* to his Majeſty, and devoted to the houſe of Hanover, and declares himſelf in a manner peculiarly zealous againſt the *pretender*. And if ſuch a writer in four ſeveral treatiſes on ſo nice a ſubject, where a royal patent is concerned, and where it was neceſſary to ſpeak of England and of *liberty*, ſhould in one or two places happen to let fall an inadvertent expreſſion, it would be hard to condemn him, after all the good he hath done, eſpecially when we conſider, that he could have no poſſible deſign in view either of honour or profit, but purely the GOOD of his COUNTRY.

Thirdly, It ought to be well conſidered, whether any one expreſſion in the ſaid pamphlet be really liable to a juſt exception, much leſs to be found *wicked*, *malicious*, *ſeditious*, *reflecting upon his Majeſty and his miniſtry*, &c.

The two points in that pamphlet, which it is ſaid t
proſecutors intend chiefly to fix on, are, firſt, where t
author mentions the penner of the King's anſwer. *Fir*
It is well known his Majeſty is not maſter of the Engli
tongue; and therefore it is neceſſary that ſome other pe
ſon ſhould be employed to pen what he hath to ſay,
write in that language. *Secondly*, His Majeſty's anſw
is not in the firſt perſon, but in the third. It is not ſai
WE ARE CONCERNED, OR OUR ROYAL PREDECE
SORS; but HIS MAJESTY *is concerned*, and *his* ROY
PREDECESSORS. By which it is plain, theſe are prope
ly not the words of his Majeſty; but ſuppoſed to be tak
from him, and tranſmitted hither by one of his miniſte
Thirdly, It will be eaſily ſeen, that the author of the pa
phlet delivers his ſentiments upon this particular with t
utmoſt caution and reſpect, as any impartial reader will o
ſerve.

The ſecond paragraph, which it is ſaid will be tak
notice of as a motive to find the bill, is what the auth
ſays of Ireland's being a dependent kingdom: he explai
all the dependence he knows of, which is a law made
Ireland, whereby it is enacted, That *whoever is King*
England *ſhall be King of* Ireland. Before this explan
tion be condemned, and the bill found upon it, it wou
be proper that ſome lawyers ſhould fully inform the ju
what other law there is, either ſtatute or common, f
this *dependency*; and if there be no law, there is no tra
greſſion.

The *fourth* thing very maturely to be conſidered
the jury, is, what influence their finding the bill may ha
upon the kingdom: the people in general find no fault
the Drapier's laſt book, any more than in the three forme
and therefore when they hear it is condemned by a gra
jury of Dublin, they will conclude it is done in favo
of Wood's coin; they will think we of this town ha
changed our minds, and intend to take thoſe halfpen
and therefore that it will be in vain for them to ſta
out: ſo that the queſtion comes to this, which will be
the worſt conſequence? to let paſs one or two expreſſio
at the worſt only unwary, in a book written for the p
blic ſervice; or to leave a free open paſſage for Wood
by

braſs to over-run us, by which we ſhall be undone for ever.

The *fifth* thing to be conſidered is, That the members of the grand jury being merchants and principal ſhopkeepers can have no ſuitable temptation offered them, as a recompenſe for the miſchief they will do, and ſuffer by letting in this coin; nor can be at any loſs or danger by rejecting the bill. They do not expect any employments in the ſtate, to make up in their own private advantages by the deſtruction of their country; whereas thoſe who go about to *adviſe, entice,* or *threaten* them to find that bill, have great employments which they have a mind to keep, or to get *greater;* as it was likewiſe the caſe of all thoſe who ſigned the proclamation to have the author proſecuted. And therefore it is known, that his Grace the Lord Archbiſhop of Dublin, ſo renowned for his piety, and wiſdom, and love of his country, abſolutely refuſed to condemn the book or the author.

Laſtly, It ought to be conſidered, what conſequence the finding the bill may have upon a poor man, perfectly innocent; I mean the printer. A lawyer may pick out expreſſions, and make them liable to exception, where no other man is able to find any. But how can it be ſuppoſed that an ignorant printer can be ſuch a *critic?* He knew the author's deſign was honeſt, and approved by the whole kingdom: he adviſed with friends, who told him there was no harm in the book, and he could ſee none himſelf: it was ſent him in an unknown hand; but the ſame in which he received the three former. He and his wife have offered to take their oaths, that they knew not the author. And therefore to find a bill, that may bring puniſhment upon the innocent, will appear *very hard,* to ſay no worſe. For it will be impoſſible to find the author, unleſs he will pleaſe to diſcover himſelf; although I wonder he ever concealed his name: but I ſuppoſe, what he did at firſt out of modeſty, he continues to do out of prudence. God protect us and him.

I will conclude all with a fable aſcribed to Demoſthenes: He had ſerved the people of Athens with great fidelity in the ſtation of an *orator;* when upon a certain occaſion apprehending to be delivered over to his enemies,

he

he told the Athenians, his countrymen, the
ſtory. Once upon a time the *wolves* deſired a le
the *ſheep* upon this condition; that the cauſ
might be taken away, which was the *ſhepherd*
ſtiffs: this being granted, the *wolves* without all
havock of the *ſheep*.

November 11. 1724.

Copies of this paper were diſtributed to every perſon
jury the evening before the bill was to be exhibited; who,
the reaſons contained in it, refuſed to find the bill; up
Lord Chief Juſtice Whitſhed, who had preſided at a form
*tion of the Dean's printer *, diſcharged them in a rage.*
ing extract was ſoon after publiſhed, to ſhew the illegality
ceeding; and the next grand jury that was empannelled ma
quent preſentment againſt all the abettors of Wood's proje
ter to Lord Moleſworth, p. 88. *of this volume.*

* See the firſt note prefixed to the propoſal for the
Iriſh manufactures, in this volume.

An extract from a book, intitled, *An e*
lection of the debates of the houſe of C
held at Weſtminſter, Oct. 21. 1680, *p.*

RESOLUTIONS *of the houſe of Commons in*
Nov. 13. 1680.

SEveral perſons being examined about the d
grand jury in Middleſex, the houſe came t
lowing *reſolutions:*

Reſolved, That the diſcharging of a grand ju
judge, before the end of the term, aſſizes, or ſeſſi
matters are under their conſideration, and not pr
arbitrary, illegal, deſtructive to public juſtice,
violation of his oath, and is a means to ſubvert
mental laws of this kingdom,

Reſolved, That a committee be appointed to examine the roceedings of the judges in Weſtminſter-hall; and report he ſame, with their opinion herein, to this houſe.

Lord Chief Juſtice Whitſhed, for his conduct, deſerved to have een impeached by the houſe of Commons; becauſe the diſſolving f a grand jury by any judge before the end of the term, aſſizes, or eſſions, while matters are under their conſideration, and not pre-ented, is arbitrary, illegal, deſtructive to public juſtice, a manifeſt iolation of his oath, and is a means to ſubvert the fundamental aws of the realm. But as the houſe of Commons forbore to ex-cute their vengeance upon the Chief Juſtice, Swift ſeized upon im as a prey, laſhed him, and worried him out of all his patience, y many ſarcaſtic epigrams, ſquibs, and other ſevere reflections pon his unworthy demeanor, until at laſt he became odious and idiculous to the whole kingdom. Neither could his death, which appened ſoon after, appeaſe the vengeance of the incenſed pa-riot. For Swift, reſolving to make him an example to all future ges, purſued him into the regions of the dead, and coupled him ith Anytus the accuſer of Socrates. Such indeed was at laſt he ſacrifice that poor unfortunate Whitſhed became unto the re-entment of Dr Swift.——See Swift's poems concerning Whit-hed, vol. 6. alſo, *A ſhort view of Ireland*; and, *An anſwer to a emorial*, in this volume. See alſo *The life and character of Dr wift*, vol. 7. p. 164. D. Swift.

The PRESENTMENT of the GRAND Jt of the county of the city of Dublin.

WHereas ſeveral great quantities of baſe metal co commonly called *Wood's halfpence*, have brought into the port of Dublin, and lodged in ſe houſes of this city, with an intention to make them clandeſtinely among his Majeſty's ſubjects of this king notwithſtanding the addreſſes of both houſes of parlia and the privy council, and the declarations of moſt o corporations of this city againſt the ſaid coin: and wh his Majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to leave his ſubjects of this kingdom at liberty to take or refuſe th halfpence:

We the *grand jury* of the county of the city of blin, this Michaelmas *term* 1724, having entirely at his Majeſty's intereſt, and the welfare of our country, being thoroughly ſenſible of the great diſcourage which trade hath ſuffered by the apprehenſions of the coin, whereof we have already felt the diſmal eff and that the currency thereof will inevitably tend t great diminution of his Majeſty's revenue, and the of us and our poſterity, do *preſent* all ſuch perſons as attempted, or ſhall endeavour by fraud, or otherwiſ impoſe the ſaid halfpence upon us, contrary to his M ſty's moſt gracious intentions, as enemies to his Maj government, and to the ſafety, peace, and welfare of a Majeſty's ſubjects of this kingdom; whoſe affections been ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed by their zeal to his ill ous family before his happy acceſſion to the throne, a their continued loyalty ever ſince.

As we do, with all juſt gratitude, acknowledge th vices of all ſuch *patriots* as have been eminently ze for the intereſt of his Majeſty and this country, in d ing the fraudulent impoſition of the ſaid Wood, and venting the paſſing his baſe coin; ſo we do, at the *time*, declare our abhorrence and deteſtation of al

&c

on his Majeſty and his government; and that we
y with our lives and fortunes to defend his moſt
Majeſty againſt the *pretender*, and all his Majeſty's
d ſecret enemies both at home and abroad.

nder our hands at the grand-jury chamber, this
28th of November 1724.

Forbes,	David Tew,
Empſon,	Thomas How,
el Pearſon,	John Jones,
Nuttall,	James Brown,
Aſton,	Charles Lyndon,
Tighe,	Jerom Bredin,
Walker,	John Sican,
French,	Anthony Brunton,
reilles,	Thomas Gaven,
earſon,	Daniel Elwood,
Robins,	John Brunet.
Dawſon,	

receding paper was publiſhed about a month after
lamation was iſſued, offering a reward of 300*l.*
diſcovering the author of the Drapier's fourth

A LETTER

A Letter to the Right Honourable

The Lord Viſcount MOLESWORTH.

Written in the year 1724.

They compaſſed me about alſo with words of decei
fought againſt me without a cauſe.

For my love they are my adverſaries; but I give
unto prayer.

And they have rewarded me evil for good, and hatr
my love. Pſal. cix. 3. 4. 5.

Seek not to be judge, being not able to take away in
leſt at any time thou fear the perſon of the night
lay a ſtumbling-block in the way of thy uprightne

Offend not againſt the multitude of a city, and the
ſhalt not caſt thyſelf down among the people.

Bind not one ſin upon another, for in one thou ſha
be unpuniſhed. Ecclus vii. 6. 7. 8.

Non jam prima peto Mneſtheus, neque vincere certo :
Quanquam O! Sed ſuperent quibus hoc, Neptune, dediſti

DIRECTIONS to the PRINTER.

Mr HARDING,

WHen I ſent you my former papers, I cannot
intended you either *good* or *hurt*; and yet yo
happened through my means to receive *both*. I pra
deliver you from any more of the *latter*, and incre
former. Your trade, particularly in this kingdom, is o
thers the moſt unfortunately circumſtantiated; for,
deal in the moſt worthleſs kind of traſh, the penny-prod
of pennyleſs ſcribblers; ſo you often venture your li

etimes your lives, for the purchaſe of half a crown;
your own ignorance, are puniſhed for other mens

afraid, you in particular think you have reaſon to
n of me, for your own and your wife's confinement
n, to your great expenſe, as well as hardſhip; and
oſecution ſtill impending. But I will tell you, Mr
, how that matter ſtands. Since the preſs hath
er ſo ſtrict an inſpection, thoſe who have a mind to
the world, are become ſo cautious as to keep them-
if poſſible, out of the way of danger. My cuſtom
e is to dictate to a prentice, who can write in a
hand; and what is written we ſend to your houſe
ckguard-boy. But, at the ſame time, I do aſſure
on my reputation, that I never did ſend you any
r which I thought you could poſſibly be called to
ant. And you will be my witneſs, that I always
you, by a letter, to take ſome good advice before
tured to print; becauſe I knew the *dexterity* of *deal-*
be law at finding out ſomething to faſten on, where
is meant. I am told indeed, that you did accor-
conſult ſeveral very able perſons, and even *ſome*
erwards *appeared againſt you:* to which I can only
that you muſt either change your *adviſers*, or
ne to print nothing that comes from a *drapier*.
ire you will ſend the incloſed letter directed to my
iſcount *Moleſworth*, at his houſe at *Brackdenſtown*,
ords: but I would have it ſent *printed* for the con-
e of his Lordſhip's reading; becauſe this counter-
d of my prentice is not very legible. And, if you
t to publiſh it, I would have you firſt get it read o-
ſome *notable* lawyer: I am aſſured, you will find
of them, who are friends to the *drapier*, and will
without a fee; which, I am afraid, you can ill af-
ter all your expenſes. For although I have taken
h care, that I think it impoſſible to find a topic out
following papers for ſending you again to priſon,
ill not venture to be your guarantee.
s enſuing letter contains only a ſhort account of my-
d an humble apology for my former pamphlets, e-
ly the *laſt; with little* mention of Mr Wood or his

halfpence; becauſe I have already ſaid enough upo ſubject, until occaſion ſhall be given for *new fears*; in that caſe, you may perhaps hear from me again.

I am,

your friend

From my ſhop in St Francis ſtreet, Dec. 14. 1724. and ſervant, M.

P. S. For want of intercourſe between you an which I never will ſuffer *, your people are apt to very groſs errors in the preſs, which I deſire yo provide againſt.

* The copies were always ſent to the preſs by ſome c meſſenger, who never knew the perſon from whom he r them, but gave them in at a window. The amanuenſis on truſted, to whom about two years after the author gave ployment of 40 *l.* a-year as a reward for his fidelity. *Dub.*

To the Right Honourable

ıe Lord VISCOUNT MOLESWORTH,

ıt his houſe at Brackdenſtown, near Swords.

ſy LORD,

ıeflect too late on the maxim of common obſervers, That thoſe who meddle in matters out of their call- will have reaſon to repent; which is now verified in for, by engaging in the trade of a writer, I have drawn ı myſelf the diſpleaſure of the government, ſignified a *proclamation* promiſing a reward of three hundred ıds to the firſt *faithful* ſubject who ſhall be able and ined to *inform* againſt me; to which I may add, the *lable zeal and induſtry* of my Lord Chief Juſtice itſhed in his endeavours to diſcover ſo dangerous a per- Therefore, whether I repent or no, I have certain- auſe to do ſo; and the common obſervation ſtill ſtands d.

t will ſometimes happen, I know not how, in the courſe ıuman affairs, that a man ſhall be made liable to *legal* nadverſions, where he hath nothing to anſwer for ei- : to God or his *country*; and condemned at Weſtmin- -hall, for what he will never be charged with at the *of judgment*.

ıfter ſtrictly examining my own heart, and conſulting ıe divines of great reputation, I cannot accuſe myſelf of * *malice* or *wickedneſs againſt the public*; of any *de- ı to ſow ſedition*; of *reflecting on the King and his iſters*; or of endeavouring *to alienate the affections of people of this kingdom from thoſe of* England. All I charge myſelf with, is a weak attempt to ſerve a na- ı in danger of deſtruction by a moſt wicked and ma-

* *Articles mentioned in the* indictment and proclamation.

licious projector, without waiting until I were called
aſſiſtance. Which attempt, however it may perha
me the title of *pragmatical* and *overweening*, will
lie a burthen upon my conſcience. God knows wh
may not, with all my caution, have already run myſ
to a ſecond danger, by offering thus much in my ow
dication. For I have heard of a *judge*, who, upon t
minal's *appeal* to the *dreadful day of judgment*, tol
he had incurred a *premunire* for *appealing to a j*
juriſdiction: and of another in Wales, who ſeverely
ed the priſoner for offering the ſame plea; taxing hi
reflecting on the court by ſuch a compariſon; becauſ
pariſons were odious.

But, in order to make ſome excuſe for being mo
culative than others of my condition, I deſire your
ſhip's pardon, while I am doing a very fooliſh thing;
is to give you ſome little account of myſelf.

I was bred at a free ſchool, where I acquired ſom
knowledge in the *Latin tongue*. I ſerved my appren
in London, and there ſet up for myſelf with good ſt
until by the *death of ſome friends, and misfortu*
others, I returned into this kingdom; and began to
my thoughts in cultivating the *woollen manufacture* t
all its branches; wherein I met with great diſcourag
and powerful oppoſers, whoſe objections appeared
very ſtrange and ſingular. They argued, that the
of England would be offended, if our manufacture
brought to equal theirs: and even ſome of the *we*
trade were my enemies; which I could not but loo
as *abſurd* and *unnatural*. I remember your Lord
that time did me the honour to come into my ſhop,
I ſhewed you * a piece of *black and white ſtuff* ju
from the *dyer;* which you were pleaſed to approve
be my cuſtomer for.

However, I was ſo mortified, that I reſolved f
future to ſit quietly in my ſhop, and deal in *common*
like the reſt of my brethren; until it happened ſome
ago, conſidering with myſelf, that the *lower and*
ſort of people wanted a *plain ſtrong coarſe ſtuff to*

* By this is meant, the *propoſal for the univerſal uſe*
manufactures.

n againſt cold eaſterly *winds, which then blew very ce and blaſting for a long time together;* I contrived one purpoſe, which ſold very well all over the kingdom, and ſerved many thouſands from *agues*. I then made a *ſecond* and a *third* kind of *ſtuffs* for the *gentry*, with ſame ſucceſs; inſomuch that an *ague* hath hardly been ird of for ſome time.

This incited me ſo far, that I ventured upon a † *fourth* ce made of the beſt Iriſh wool I could get; and I ught it grave and rich enough to be worn by the t *lord* or *judge* of the land. But of late ſome *great ks* complain, as I hear, that when they had it on, they t a *ſhuddering in their limbs*, and have thrown it off a rage; curſing to hell the poor *drapier*, who invented ſo that I am determined never to *work for perſons quality* again; except for your *Lordſhip* and a *very few re*.

I aſſure your Lordſhip upon the word of an honeſt ci-en, that I am not richer, by the value of one of Mr ood's halfpence, with the ſale of all the ſeveral *ſtuffs* ave contrived: for I give the whole profit to the *dy-r* and *preſſers* ‡. And therefore I hope you will pleaſe believe, that no other motive, beſides the love of my untry, could engage me to buſy my head and hands to e loſs of my time, and the gain of nothing but *vexation* d *ill-will*.

I have now in hand one *piece of ſtuff* to be woven on irpoſe for your Lordſhip; although I might be aſhamed offer it to you, after I have confeſſed, that it will be ade only from the ‖ *ſhreds and remnants of the wool mployed in the former*. However, I ſhall *work* it up as ell as I can; and, at worſt, you need only give it among our tenants.

I am very ſenſible, how ill your Lordſhip is like to be ntertained with the pedantry of a *drapier* in the terms f his own trade. How will the matter be mended, when ou find me entering again, although very ſparingly, into

* The *drapier*'s three firſt letters.

† The fourth letter, againſt which the proclamation was iſſued.

‡ *Printers.* ‖ Meaning the preſent letter.

an affair of ſtate? for ſuch is now grown the controve
with Mr Wood, if ſome *great lawyers* are to be credit
And as it often happens at play, that men begin w
farthings, and go on to *gold*, till ſome of them loſe th
eſtates and die in jail; ſo it may poſſibly fall out in
caſe, that by *playing* too long with Mr Wood's h
pence, I may be drawn in to pay a *fine* double to the
ward for *betraying* me; be ſent to priſon, and *not be*
livered thence until I ſhall have paid the uttermoſt f
thing.

There are, my Lord, three ſorts of perſons, with wh
I am reſolved never to diſpute: a *highwayman* with a pi
at my breaſt; *a troop of dragoons*, who come to plun
my houſe; and a *man of the law*, who can make a m
of accuſing me. In each of theſe caſes, *which are alt*
the ſame, the beſt method is to *keep out of the way;*
the next beſt is to *deliver your money*, *ſurrender y*
houſe, and *confeſs nothing*.

I am told, that the two points in my laſt letter, f
which an occaſion of offence hath been taken, are, wh
I mention his Majeſty's anſwer to the addreſs of the h
of Lords upon Mr Wood's patent; and where I diſco
upon Ireland's being a *dependent kingdom*. As to
former, I can only ſay, that I have treated it with the
moſt reſpect and caution; and I thought it neceſſar
ſhew where Wood's patent differed in many eſſential
from all others that ever had been granted; becauſe
contrary had, for want of due information, been ſo ſtro
and ſo largely aſſerted. As to the other, of Ireland's
pendency; I confeſs to have often heard it mentioned,
was never able to underſtand what it meant. This
me the curioſity to inquire among ſeveral eminent law
who profeſſed they knew nothing of the matter. I
turned over all the ſtatutes of both kingdoms withou
leaſt information, further than an Iriſh act, that I qu
of the 33d of Henry VIII. uniting Ireland to Englan
der one King. I cannot ſay, I was *ſorry* to be diſapp
ed in my ſearch, becauſe it is certain, I could be *con*
ed to *depend* only upon God and my *prince*, and the
of my own country, *after the manner of other nat*
But ſince my *betters* are of a *different opinion*, and
ſ

further dependencies, I ſhall outwardly ſubmit; yet ſtill inſiſting in my own heart upon the *exception* I made of M. B. *drapier*. Indeed that hint was borrowed from an idle ſtory I had heard in England, which perhaps may be common and beaten; but becauſe it *inſinuates neither treaſon nor ſedition*, I will juſt barely relate it.

Some hundred years ago, when the Peers were ſo great that the Commons were looked upon as little better than their *dependents*, a bill was brought in for making ſome new additions to the power and privileges of the peerage. After it was read, one Mr Drue, a member of the houſe ſtood up, and ſaid, he very much approved the bill, and would give his vote to have it paſs; but however, for ſome reaſons beſt known to himſelf, he deſired that a clauſe might be inſerted for *excepting the family of the* Drues. The oddneſs of the propoſition taught others to reflect a little; and the bill was thrown out.

Whether I were miſtaken, or *went too far* in examining the *dependency*, muſt be left to the impartial judgment of the world, as well as to the courts of judicature; although indeed not in ſo *effectual* and *deciſive a manner*. But to affirm, as I hear ſome do, in order to countenance a fearful and ſervile ſpirit, that this point did not *belong to my ſubject*, is a falſe and fooliſh objection. There were ſeveral ſcandalous reports induſtriouſly ſpread by Wood and his accomplices, to diſcourage all oppoſition againſt his infamous project. They gave it out, that we were prepared for a *rebellion*; that we diſputed the King's *prerogative*, and were ſhaking off our *dependency*. The firſt went ſo far, and obtained ſo much belief againſt the moſt viſible demonſtrations to the contrary, that a *great perſon* of this kingdom, now in England, ſent over ſuch an account of it to his friends, as would make any good ſubject both grieve and tremble. I thought it therefore neceſſary to treat that calumny as it deſerved. Then I proved by an invincible argument, that we could have no intention to diſpute his Majeſty's *prerogative*; becauſe the *prerogative* was not concerned in the queſtion; the civilians and lawyers of all nations agreeing, that *copper is not money*. And laſtly, to clear us from the imputation of ſhaking off *our dependency*, I ſhewed wherein I thought,

and

and ſhall ever think, this *dependency* conſiſted; and cited the ſtatute above mentioned made in Ireland: by which it is enacted, that *whoever is King of* England, *ſhall be King of* Ireland; and that the two kingdoms ſhall be *for ever knit together under one King*. This, as I conceived, did wholly acquit us of intending to break our *dependency*; becauſe it was altogether out of our power: for ſurely no King of England will ever conſent to the repeal of this ſtatute.

But upon this article I am charged with a heavier accuſation. It is ſaid I *went too far*, when I declared, that *if ever the* pretender *ſhould come to be fixed upon the throne of* England (*which God forbid*), *I would ſo far venture to tranſgreſs this ſtatute, that I would loſe the laſt drop of my blood, before I would ſubmit to him as King of* Ireland.

This I hear on all ſides is the ſtrongeſt and weightieſt objection againſt me; and which hath given the moſt offence; that I ſhould be ſo bold to declare againſt a direct ſtatute; and that any motive, how ſtrong ſoever, could make me reject a King, whom England ſhould receive. Now, if in defending myſelf from this accuſation I ſhould freely confeſs, that I *went too far;* that the expreſſion was very indiſcreet, although occaſioned by my zeal for his preſent Majeſty, and his Proteſtant line in the houſe of Hanover; that I ſhall be careful never to offend again in the like kind; and that I hope this free acknowledgment and ſorrow for my error will be ſome atonement, and a little ſoften the hearts of my powerful adverſaries: I ſay, if I ſhould offer ſuch a defence as this, I do not doubt but ſome people would wreſt it to an ill meaning by ſpiteful interpretation. And therefore, ſince I cannot think of any other anſwer, which that paragraph can admit, I will leave it to the mercy of every candid reader; but ſtill without recanting my own opinion.

I will now venture to tell your Lordſhip a ſecret, wherein I fear you are too deeply concerned. You will therefore pleaſe to know, that this habit of writing and diſcourſing, wherein I unfortunately differ from *almoſt* the whole kingdom, and am apt to grate the ears of more *than I could* wiſh, was acquired during my apprenticeſhip

in London, and a long reſidence there after I had ſet up for myſelf. Upon my return and ſettlement here, I thought I had only *changed one country of freedom for another*. I had been long converſing with the writings of your Lordſhip *, Mr Locke, Mr Molineux, Colonel Sidney, and other dangerous authors, who talk of *liberty as a bleſſing, to which the whole race of mankind hath an original title; whereof nothing but unlawful force can diveſt them*. I knew a great deal of the ſeveral Gothic inſtitutions in Europe; and by what incidents and events they came to be deſtroyed: and I ever thought it the moſt uncontrolled and univerſally agreed maxim, That *freedom conſiſts in a people's being governed by laws made with their own conſent; and ſlavery in the contrary*. I have been likewiſe told, and believe it to be true, that *liberty* and *property* are words of known uſe and ſignification in this kingdom; and the very lawyers pretend to underſtand, and have them often in their mouths. Theſe were the errors which have miſled me, and to which alone I muſt impute the ſevere treatment I have received. But I ſhall in time grow wiſer, and learn to conſider my *driver*, the *road I am in*, and *with whom I am yoked*. This I will venture to ſay, that the boldeſt and moſt obnoxious words I ever delivered, would in England have only expoſed me as a ſtupid fool, who went to prove that *the ſun ſhone in a clear ſummer's day*: and I have witneſſes ready to depoſe, that your Lordſhip hath ſaid and writ fifty times worſe; and, what is ſtill an aggravation, with infinitely more wit and learning, and ſtronger arguments: ſo that, as politics run, I do not know a perſon of more exceptionable principles than yourſelf: and if ever I ſhall be diſcovered, I think you will be bound in honour to pay my fine, and ſupport me in priſon; or elſe I may chance to inform againſt you by way of *repriſal*.

In the mean time I beg your Lordſhip to receive my confeſſion; that if there be any ſuch a thing as a *dependency* of Ireland upon England, otherwiſe than as I have explained it, either by the *law* of God, of *nature*, of *rea-*

* He publiſhed a book in the reign of King William III. intitled, *The ſtate of Denmark, with a large* preface. *Hawkeſ.*

ſon,

ſon, of *nations*, or of the *land*, (which I ſhall die than grant), then was the *proclamation* againſt i moſt merciful that ever was put out; and inſtead cuſing me as *malicious*, *wicked*, and *ſeditious*, it have been directly as guilty of *high treaſon*.

All I deſire is, that the cauſe of my country aga Wood may not ſuffer by any inadvertency of mine. ther Ireland depends upon England, or only upo the king, and the law; I hope no man will aſſe it depends upon Mr Wood. I ſhould be heartil that this commendable ſpirit againſt me ſhould acci ly (and what, I hope, was never intended) ſtrike upon that ſpirit in all ranks and corporations of gainſt the deſperate and ruinous deſign of Mr Woo my countrymen blot out thoſe parts in my laſt letter they diſlike; and let no *ruſt* remain on my ſword the wounds I have given to our moſt mortal enemy. Sir Charles Sidley was taking the oaths, where things were to be *renounced*, he ſaid, he loved *cing*; aſked if any more were to be *renounced*; was ready to *renounce* as much as they pleaſed. A I am not ſo thorough a *renouncer*, yet let me have t *city-ſecurity* againſt this peſtilent coinage, and I ready, not only to *renounce* every ſyllable in all letters, but to deliver them chearfully with my ow into thoſe of the common *hangman* to be burnt better company than the *coiner's effigies*, if any pa hath eſcaped out of the ſecular hands of my faithful the common people.

But, whatever the ſentiments of ſome people I think it is agreed that many of thoſe who ſubſcr gainſt me, are on the ſide of a vaſt majority in th dom, who oppoſed Mr Wood*: and it was wit ſatis

* As the Drapier's letters were written expreſsly Wood's halfpence, it might well be imagined that a p tion againſt the author would produce an opinion, tha poſe Wood's halfpence was illegal, and ſubjected the pains and penalties: to prevent ſo fatal a miſtake, it is marked, that many of thoſe who ſubſcribed the procl *were yet ſtrenuous* oppoſers of Wood's project. This

action, that I obſerved ſome *right honourable names* amicably joined with my own at the bottom of a *ſtrong ration* againſt him and his coin. But if the admiſſion among us be already determined, the worthy perſon is to betray me, ought in prudence to do it with all enient ſpeed; or elſe it may be difficult to find three red pounds *Sterling* for the diſcharge of his hire, when ublic ſhall have loſt five hundred thouſand, if there much in the nation; beſides four fifths of its annual ue for ever.

am told by lawyers, that in quarrels between man and it is of much weight, which of them gave the firſt pro- ion, or ſtruck the firſt blow. It is manifeſt that Mr d hath done both: and therefore I ſhould humbly pro- to have him firſt *hanged*, and his *droſs* thrown into ea: after which the *drapier* will be ready to ſtand his

It muſt needs be that offences come, but wo un- n by whom the offence cometh. If Mr Wood had his hand, every body elſe would have held their ies; and then there would have been little need of *blets*, *juries*, or *proclamations* upon this occaſion. provocation muſt needs have been very great, which l ſtir up an obſcure, indolent *drapier* to become an *r*. One would almoſt think, the very *ſtones* in the would *riſe* up in ſuch a cauſe: and I am not ſure will not *do ſo* againſt Mr Wood, if ever he comes n their reach. It is a known ſtory of the dumb boy, e tongue forced a paſſage for ſpeech by the horror of g a dagger at his father's throat. This may leſſen wonder, that a tradeſman hid in privacy and ſilence d *cry out*, when the life and being of his political *mo-* are attempted before his face, and by ſo infamous a h.

it in the mean time Mr Wood the deſtroyer of a king- walks about in triumph, (unleſs it be true, that he jail for debt), while he who endeavoured to *aſſert*

is yet more explicit in the letter to Lord Middleton, which written ſoon after the fourth letter, and intended to be the though for ſome reaſons deferred. -------- See the letter to Middleton, and the note prefixed. *Hawkſ.*

the liberty of his country is forced to *hide h*
caſionally dealing in a matter of *controverſy*
am not the firſt, who hath been condemne
gaining a great victory over a powerful
obeying for *once* the ſtrict orders of military

I am now reſolved to follow (after the
ing of mankind, becauſe it is too late) the a
by a certain *dean* *. He ſhewed the miſtal
truſting to the general good-will of the peop
ſucceeded hitherto better than could be expe
ſome unfortunate *circumſtantial lapſe* would
me within the reach of *power:* that my g
would be no ſecurity againſt *thoſe who wat*
tion of my pen in the bitterneſs of my ſoul.
an inſtance of a perſon as innocent, as diſ
as well meaning as myſelf; who had writte
ſonable and inoffenſive treatiſe, exhortin
this kingdom to wear their own manufactu
however the printer was proſecuted with t
lence; the *jury ſent back nine times;* and
up to the mercy of the court. The *dean* fu
that I was in a manner left alone to ſtand th
others, who had ten thouſand times bette
drapier, were ſo prudent as to lie ſtill; and
it no unpleaſant amuſement to look on wit
another was giving them *diverſion* at the h
berty and fortune; and thought they made
compenſe by a little applauſe: whereupon
with a ſhort ſtory of a Jew at Madrid; v
demned to the fire on account of his religi
ſchoolboys following him to the ſtake, an
they might loſe their *ſport* if he ſhould ha
would often *clap him on the back*, and
Moyſe, (Moſes *continue ſtedfaſt*).

I allow this gentleman's advice to have b
and his obſervations juſt; and in one reſpe
is worſe than that of the Jew: for *no r*

* The author is ſuppoſed to mean himſelf.

† The author means himſelf again; in the diſc
people of Ireland to wear their own manufactur

love me. However, it ſhould ſeem by *ſome late proceedings*, that my ſtate is not altogether deplorable. This I can impute to nothing but the ſteadineſs of *two impartial grand juries*; which hath confirmed in me an opinion I have long entertained; that, as philoſophers ſay, *virtue is ſeated in the middle*; ſo in another ſenſe, the little *virtue* left in the world is chiefly to be found among the *middle* rank of mankind, who are neither *allured* out of her paths by *ambition*, nor *driven* by *poverty*.

Since the *proclamation* occaſioned by my laſt letter, and a *due* preparation for proceeding againſt me in a court of juſtice, there have been two printed papers clandeſtinely ſpread about; whereof no man is able to trace the original, further than by conjecture; which, with its uſual charity, lays them to my account. The former is intitled, *Seaſonable advice*, and appears to have been intended for information of the grand jury, upon the ſuppoſition of a bill to be prepared againſt that letter. The other is an extract from a printed book of parliamentary proceedings, in the year 1680; containing an angry reſolution of the houſe of Commons in England againſt *diſſolving grand juries*. As to the former, your Lordſhip will find it to be the work of a more artful hand than that of a common *drapier*. It hath been cenſured for endeavouring to influence the minds of a jury, which ought to be wholly free and unbiaſſed; and for that reaſon *it is manifeſt*, that no *judge* was ever known, either *upon* or *off* the bench, either by *himſelf* or his *dependents*, to uſe the *leaſt inſinuation*, that might poſſibly affect the paſſions or intereſts of any one ſingle *juryman*, much leſs of a whole *jury*; whereof every man muſt be convinced, who will juſt give himſelf the trouble to dip into the common printed trials: ſo as it is amazing to think, what a number of *upright judges* there have been in both kingdoms for above *ſixty years paſt*; which, conſidering how long they held their offices *during pleaſure*, as they *ſtill do among us* *, I account next to a *miracle*.

* Perhaps this may account for Whitſhed's conduct. See the notes prefixed to the *propoſal for the ſole uſe of* Iriſh *manufactures*, and ſuperadded to the *ſeaſonable advice to the grand jury*, both in this volume.

As to the other paper, I muſt confeſs it is a ſharp c ſure from an Engliſh houſe of Commons againſt *diſſolv grand juries* by any judge before the end of the term, ſizes, or ſeſſions, while matters are under their conſide tion and not preſented, as arbitrary, illegal, deſtruct to public juſtice, a manifeſt violation of his oath, and a means to ſubvert the fundamental laws of the kingdc

However, the publiſher ſeems to have been miſtaker what he aimed at. For whatever *dependence* there n be of Ireland upon England, I hope he would not inſi ate, that the proceedings of a *lord chief juſtice* in Irel muſt *depend* upon a *reſolution* of an Engliſh houſe of Cc mons. Beſides that *reſolution*, although it were level againſt a particular lord chief juſtice, Sir William Scrog yet the occaſion was directly contrary. For Scroggs *ſolved the grand jury* of London for fear they *ſhould* p ſent; but ours in Dublin was *diſſolved* becauſe they wo *not* preſent; which *wonderfully alters the caſe.* A therefore a *ſecond grand jury* ſupplied that defect by r king a preſentment * that *pleaſed the whole kingdom.* Hc ever, I think it is agreed by all parties, that both the and the other *jury* behaved themſelves in ſuch a mann as ought to be remembered to their honour, while th ſhall be any regard left among us for *virtue* or *public ſ rit.*

I am confident your Lordſhip will be of my ſentime in one thing; that ſome ſhort plain authentic tract mi be publiſhed for the information both of *petty* and *gra juries*, how far their power reacheth, and where it is mited; and that a printed copy of ſuch a treatiſe mi be depoſited in every court to be conſulted by the ju men, before they conſider of their verdict; by which bundance of inconveniencies would be avoided, wher innumerable inſtances might be produced from forn times; becauſe I will ſay nothing of the preſent.

I have read ſomewhere of an *eaſtern* king, who pu *judge* to death for an iniquitous ſentence; and ordered *hide to be ſtuffed into a cuſhion*, and placed upon the t bunal for the ſon to ſit on, who was preferred to his

* *See the preſentment* immediately preceding this letter.

the

ier's office. I fancy, ſuch a *memorial* might not have een unuſeful to a ſon of Sir William Scroggs, and that ɔth he and his ſucceſſors would often *wriggle* in their ats, as long as the *cuſhion* laſted: I wiſh the relator had ld us what number of ſuch *cuſhions* there might be in at country.

I cannot but obſerve to your Lordſhip, how nice and how ngerous a point it is grown, for a private perſon to in-rm the people, even in an affair where the public inter-t and ſafety are ſo highly concerned as that of Mr Wood; id this in a country where *loyalty is woven into the very 'arts of the people*, ſeems a little extraordinary. Sir Villiam Scroggs was the firſt who introduced that *com-endable acuteneſs into the courts of judicature*; but how r this practice hath been imitated by his ſucceſſors, or *rained upon occaſion*, is out of my knowledge. When amphlets *unpleaſing to the miniſtry* were preſented as li-els, he would order the offenſive paragraphs to be read efore him; and ſaid it was ſtrange, that the judges and wyers of the *king's bench* ſhould be duller than all the eople of England: and he was often ſo very happy in ap-lying the initial letters of names, and expounding *dubious ints*, (the two common expedients among writers of that laſs for eſcaping the law), that he diſcovered much *more* han ever the authors intended; as many of them, or their riters, found to their coſt. If ſuch methods are to be ollowed in examining what I have already written, or may rite hereafter, upon the ſubject of Mr Wood, I defy a-y man of fifty times my underſtanding and caution to a-oid being *intrapped:* unleſs he will be content to write what none will read, by repeating over the old arguments nd computations, whereof the world is already grown weary. So that my good friend Harding lies under this *dilemma*; either to let my *learned works* hang for ever a-drying upon his lines, or venture to publiſh them at the hazard of being laid by the heels.

I need not tell your Lordſhip where the difficulty lies: it is true, that the King and the laws *permit* us to refuſe this coin of Mr Wood; but at the ſame time it is equal-ly true, that the King and the laws *permit* us to receive it. Now, *it is barely poſſible*, that the miniſters in Eng-

land may not ſuppoſe the conſequences of uttering the braſs among us to be ſo ruinous as we apprehend; because perhaps, if they underſtood it in that light, they would in common humanity uſe their credit with his Majeſty for ſaving *a moſt loyal kingdom from deſtruction*. But as long as it ſhall pleaſe thoſe great perſons to think that coin will not be *ſo very* pernicious to us, we lie under the diſadvantage of being cenſured as obſtinate in not complying with a royal patent. Therefore nothing remains but to make uſe of that *liberty*, which the *King* and the *laws* have left us, by continuing to refuſe this coin; and by frequent remembrances to keep up that ſpirit raiſed againſt it, which otherwiſe may be apt to flag, and perhaps in time to ſink altogether. For any public order againſt receiving or uttering Mr Wood's halfpence is not reaſonably to be expected in this kingdom without directions from England; which I think nobody preſumes, or is ſo ſanguine to hope.

But to confeſs the truth, my Lord, I begin to grow weary of my office as a writer; and could heartily wish it were devolved upon my *brethren*, the makers of *ſongs* and *ballads*, who perhaps are the beſt qualified at preſent to gather up the gleanings of this controverſy. As to myſelf, it hath been my misfortune to begin, and purſue it upon a wrong foundation. For, having detected the frauds and falſehoods of this vile impoſtor Wood in every part, I fooliſhly *diſdained* to have recourſe to *whining*, *lamenting*, and *crying for mercy*; but rather choſe to *appeal* to *law* and *liberty*, and *the common rights of mankind*, without conſidering the *climate* I was in.

Since your laſt reſidence in Ireland, I frequently have taken my nag to ride about your grounds; where I fancied myſelf to feel an air of *freedom* breathing round me; and I am glad the low condition of a tradeſman did not qualify me to wait on you at your houſe; for then, I am afraid, my writings would not have eſcaped *ſeverer cenſures*. But I have lately ſold my nag, and honeſtly told his greateſt fault, which was that of ſnuffing up the air about Brackdenſtown; whereby he became ſuch a lover of *liberty*, that I could ſcarce hold him in. I have likewiſe buried at the bottom of a ſtrong cheſt your Lordſhip's

writings

ritings under a heap of others that treat of *liberty*; d ſpread over a *layer* or two of Hobbs, Filmer, Bodin, d many more authors of that ſtamp, to be readieſt at nd, whenever I ſhall be diſpoſed to take up a *new ſet* principles in government. In the mean time I deſign ietly to look to my ſhop, and keep as far out of your rdſhip's influence as poſſible: and if you ever ſee any ore of my writings on this ſubject, I promiſe you ſhall d them as innocent, as inſipid, and without a ſting, as at I have now offered you. But, if your Lordſhip will eaſe to give me an eaſy leaſe of ſome part of your eſtate Yorkſhire, thither will I carry my cheſt: and turning upſide down, reſume my political reading where I left ; feed on plain homely fare, and live and die a free neſt Engliſh farmer; but not without regret for leaving y countrymen under the dread of the brazen talons of r Wood: my moſt loyal and innocent countrymen; to hom I owe ſo much for their good opinion of me, and y poor endeavours to ſerve them. I am, with the great- t reſpect,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's

moſt obedient:

and moſt humble ſervant,

rom my ſhop in St Francis ſtreet, Dec. 14. 1724.

M. B.

Theſe papers (for the ſix and ſeventh letters *were not publiſhed till long afterwards) prevailed, notwithſtanding threats, proſecutions, and impriſonment, againſt all the influence of power and all the artifices of cunning: perſons of every rank and every ſect united with the drapier in the common cauſe, his health was a perpetual toaſt, and his effigies were diſplayed in every ſtreet;* Wood *was compelled to withdraw his patent, and his halfpence were totally ſuppreſſed.*

A LETTER to the Lord Chancellor MIDDLETON *.

Written in the year 1724.

[By many paſſages in the following letter, and by the date Oct. 6 1724, it appears to have been written ſoon after the proclamation againſt the *drapier* for his fourth letter, and before the jury had thrown out the bill of indictment. At this criſis perhaps the Dean did not chuſe to reſume a character which was become obnoxious, and therefore wrote in his own: the original was ſigned with his name, though it appeared to have been obliterated by another hand: for ſome reaſon the publication of it was delayed, and it was firſt printed in an edition of the Dean's works publiſhed at Dublin in 1735. This however is not the only reaſon why it is placed after the fifth letter; for the fifth letter appears to have been ſubſtituted in its ſtead, and not intended to follow it. The fourth letter, both in this and in the fifth, is called the *laſt*; which could not have happened if both had been parts of the ſame ſeries.

The reader will now eaſily account for thoſe paſſages in the ſixth, by which the proſecution againſt Harding appears to be depending, though in the fifth it is mentioned as paſt.]

My LORD,

I Deſire you will conſider me as a member, who comes in at the latter end of a debate; or as a lawyer, who ſpeaks to a cauſe, when the matter hath been almoſt exhauſted by thoſe who ſpoke before.

I remember ſome months ago I was at your houſe upon a commiſſion, where I am one of the governors; but I went thither not ſo much on account of the commiſſion, as to

* *He ſigned* the proclamation againſt the Drapier. *Hawkeſ-*
worth.

ome queſtions concerning Mr Wood's patent to
ence for Ireland; where you very freely told me
l company, how much you had been always againſt
:d project *; which raiſed in me an eſteem for
, that I went in a few days to make you a viſit af-
ny years intermiſſion. I am likewiſe told, that
wrote two letters from London, (one of which I
), impowering thoſe to whom they were direct-
are his friends, that whereas there was a malici-
ſpread of his engaging himſelf to Mr Walpole
thouſand pounds of Wood's coin to be received
, the ſaid report was falſe and groundleſs; and
ver diſcourſed with that miniſter on this ſubject,
ever give his conſent to have one farthing of the
current here. And although it be long ſince I
n myſelf the trouble of converſing with people of
lations; yet I have been told by thoſe who can
ith ſuch amuſements, that there is not a conſider-
n of the kingdom ſcrupulous in any ſort to declare
n. But all this is needleſs to alledge, when we
that the ruinous conſequences of Wood's patent
ſo ſtrongly repreſented by both houſes of par-
by the privy council; the Lord Mayor and alder-
ublin; by ſo many corporations; and the con-
f the principal gentlemen in moſt counties at their
ions, without any regard to party, religion, or

ude from hence, that the currency of theſe half-
ild in the univerſal opinion of our people be ut-
uctive to this kingdom; and conſequently that
man's duty not only to refuſe this coin himſelf,
r as in him lies, to perſuade others to do the
whether this be done in private or in print, is
; as no layman is forbidden to write, or to diſ-
on religious or moral ſubjects, although he may
in a pulpit (at leaſt in our church). Neither is
air of ſtate, until authority ſhall think fit to de-

Middleton, though he ſigned the proclamation againſt
, was yet an enemy to Wood's project, as appears by
ages in this letter. Hawkeſ.

clare

clare it ſo: or if you ſhould underſtand it in that ſenſe, yet you will pleaſe to conſider, that I am not now preaching.

Therefore I do think it my duty, ſince the *draper* will probably be no more heard of, ſo far to ſupply his place, as not to incur his fortune; for I have learned from dear experience, that there are times wherein a man ought to be cautious as well as innocent. I therefore hope, that preſerving both thoſe characters, I may be allowed, by offering new arguments or enforcing old ones, to refreſh the memory of my fellow-ſubjects, and keep up that good ſpirit raiſed among them to preſerve themſelves from utter ruin by lawful means, and ſuch as are permitted by his Majeſty.

I believe you will pleaſe to allow me two propoſitions: firſt, that we are a moſt loyal people; and ſecondly, that we are a free people, in the common acceptation of that word applied to a ſubject under a limited monarch. I know very well, that you and I did many years ago in diſcourſe differ much in the preſence of Lord Wharton about the meaning of that word *liberty* with relation to Ireland. But if you will not allow us to be a free people, there is only another appellation left, which, I doubt, my Lord Chief Juſtice Whitſhed would call me to account for, if I venture to beſtow: for I obſerved (and I ſhall never forget upon what occaſion) the device upon his coach to be *Libertas et natale ſolum*, at the very point of time when he was ſitting in his court, and perjuring himſelf to betray both *.

Now, as for our loyalty to his preſent Majeſty; if it hath ever been equalled in any other part of his dominions, I am ſure it hath never been exceeded: and I am confident he hath not a miniſter in England, who could ever call it once in queſtion; but that ſome hard rumours at leaſt have been tranſmitted from t'other ſide the water, I ſuppoſe you will not doubt: and rumours of the ſevereſt kind; which many good people have imputed to the indirect proceeding of Mr Wood and his emiſſaries: as if he endeavoured it ſhould be thought, that our loyalty depended upon the teſt

* *See the addreſs to both houſes of parliament*, by M. B. *draper*.

efuſing or taking his copper. Now, as I am ſure you admit us to be a loyal people; ſo you will think it lonable in us to hope for all proper marks of favour and tection from ſo gracious a King, that a loyal and free ple can expect: among which, we all agree in reckon- this to be one, that Wood's halfpence may never have rance into this kingdom. And this we ſhall continue to *h*, when we dare no longer expreſs our wiſhes: although re were no ſuch mortal as a *drapier* in the world. I am heartily ſorry, that any writer ſhould, in a cauſe ſo erally approved, give occaſion to the government and ncil to charge him with * "paragraphs highly reflect- ng upon his Majeſty and his miniſters; tending to alie- nate the affections of his good ſubjects in England and Ireland from each other; and to promote ſedition among the people." I muſt confeſs, that with many others I ught he meant well; although he might have the fail- of better writers, to be not always fortunate in the nner of expreſſing himſelf.

However, ſince the *drapier* is but one man, I ſhall nk I do a public ſervice by aſſerting, that the reſt of countrymen are wholly free from learning out of *his* uphlets to reflect on the King or his miniſters, and to ed ſedition.

I ſolemnly declare, that I never once heard the leaſt re- tion caſt upon the King on the ſubject of Mr Wood's n: for in many diſcourſes on this matter, I do not re- mber his Majeſty's name to be ſo much as mentioned, to the miniſtry in England, the only two perſons hint- at were the Duke of Grafton and Mr Walpole. The ner, as I have heard you and a hundred others affirm, dared, that he never ſaw the patent in favour of Mr ood, before it was paſſed, although he was then Lord utenant; and therefore I ſuppoſe every body believes, t his Grace hath been wholly unconcerned in it ever e.

Mr Walpole was indeed ſuppoſed to be underſtood by letter W. in ſeveral news-papers; where it is ſaid t ſome expreſſions fell from him not very favourable

* In the *drapier's 4th letter.*

to the people of Ireland; for the truth of whi kingdom is not to anſwer, any more than for tl eretion of the publiſhers. You obſerve, the wholly clears Mr Walpole of this charge by very arguments; and ſpeaks of him with civility. I can ny myſelf to have been often preſent, where the c gave their opinion that Mr Walpole favoured Mr projects, which I always contradicted; and for n part, never once opened my lips againſt that miniſte in mixed or particular meetings: and my reaſon reſervedneſs was; becauſe it pleaſed him in the time, (I mean Queen Anne, of ever bleſſed memo make a ſpeech directly againſt me by name in the h Commons, as I was told a very few minutes afte court of *requeſts* by more than fifty members.

But you, who are in a great ſtation here, (if ar here may be called great), cannot be ignorant, th ever is underſtood by public voice to be chief miniſt among the general talkers ſhare the blame, whethe or no, of every thing that is diſliked; which I co ly make appear in many inſtances from my own kno while I was in the world; and particularly in the the * greateſt, the wiſeſt, and the moſt uncorrupt I ever converſed with.

But, whatever unpleaſing opinion ſome peopl conceive of Mr Walpole on account of thoſe ha I dare boldly affirm it was entirely owing to Mr Many perſons of credit come from England have to me and others, that they have ſeen letters ur hand full of arrogance and inſolence towards Irela boaſting of his favour with Mr Walpole; which i probable; becauſe he reaſonably thought it for h eſt to ſpread ſuch a report, and becauſe it is the talent of low and little ſpirits, to have a great mar perpetually in their mouths.

Thus I have ſufficiently juſtified the people of from learning any bad leſſon out of the *drapier* phlets with regard to his Majeſty and his miniſte therefore, if thoſe papers were intended to ſow ſe

* *Suppoſed to be the Lord Treaſurer* Oxford.

ong us, God be thanked the ſeeds have fallen upon a
ry improper ſoil.

As to alienating the affections of the people of England
d Ireland from each other; I believe the *drapier*,
hatever his intentions were, hath left that matter juſt as
: found it.

I have lived long in both kingdoms, as well in country
in town; and therefore take myſelf to be as well in-
rmed as moſt men in the diſpoſitions of each people to-
ards the other. By the people I underſtand here, only
e bulk of the common people; and I deſire no lawyer
ay diſtort or extend my meaning.

There is a vein of induſtry and parſimony, that runs
rough the whole people of England, which added to the
ineſs of their rents makes them rich and ſturdy. As to
eland, they know little more of it than they do of Mexi-
; farther than that it is a country ſubject to the King of
ngland, full of bogs, inhabited by wild Iriſh *Papiſts*, who
e kept in awe by mercenary troops ſent from thence: and
eir general opinion is, that it were better for England
this whole iſland were ſunk into the ſea: for they
ve a tradition, that every forty years there muſt be
rebellion in Ireland. I have ſeen the groſſeſt ſuppoſi-
ons paſs upon them; that the *wild* Iriſh were taken in
ils; but that in ſome time they would grow ſo tame, as
eat out of your hands: I have been aſked by hundreds,
nd particularly by my neighbours your tenants at Pepper-
ara, whether I had come from Ireland by ſea: and upon
he arival of an Iriſh *man* to a country-town, I have known
rouds coming about him, and wondering to ſee him look
o much better than themſelves.

A gentleman now in Dublin affirms, that paſſing ſome
nonths ago through Northampton, and finding the whole
own in a lurry, with bells, bonfires, and illuminations;
pon aſking the cauſe, he was told, it was for joy that
he Iriſh had ſubmitted to receive Wood's halfpence.
This, I think, plainly ſhews what ſentiments that large
own hath of us; and how little they made it their own
aſe; although they lie directly in our way to London,
nd therefore cannot but be frequently convinced that we
ave human ſhapes.

As

As to the people of this kingdom, they conſiſt either of Iriſh *Papiſts*, who are as inconſiderable in point of power, as the women and children; or of Engliſh *Proteſtants*, who love their brethren of that kingdom, although they may poſſibly ſometimes complain when they think they are hardly uſed: however, I confeſs I do not ſee that it is of any great conſequence, how their perſonal affections ſtand to each other, while the ſea divides them, and while they continue in their loyalty to the ſame prince. And yet I will appeal to you, whether thoſe from England have reaſon to complain, when they come hither in purſuit of their fortunes? or, whether the people of Ireland have reaſon to boaſt, when they go to England upon the ſame deſign?

My ſecond propoſition was, that we of Ireland are a free people: this, I ſuppoſe, you will allow, at leaſt with certain limitations remaining in your own breaſt. However, I am ſure it is not criminal to affirm; becauſe the words *liberty* and *property*, as applied to the ſubject, are often mentioned in both houſes of parliament, as well as in yours and other courts below: from whence it muſt follow, that the people of Ireland do, or *ought* to enjoy all the benefits of the common and ſtatute law; ſuch as to be tried by juries, to pay no money without their own conſent as repreſented in parliament, and the like. If this be ſo, and if it be univerſally agreed, that a free people cannot by law be compelled to take any money in payment, except gold and ſilver; I do not ſee why any man ſhould be hindered from cautioning his countrymen againſt this coin of William Wood; who is endeavouring by fraud to rob us of that property, which the laws have ſecured. If I am miſtaken, and this copper can be obtruded on us, I would put the *drapier*'s caſe in another light by ſuppoſing, that a perſon going into his ſhop ſhould agree for thirty ſhillings worth of goods, and force the ſeller to take his payment in a parcel of copper-pieces intrinſically not worth above a crown: I deſire to know whether the *drapier* would not be actually robbed of five and twenty ſhillings; and how far he could be ſaid to be maſter of his property? The ſame queſtion may be applied to rents and debts on bond or mortgage, and to all kind of commerce whatſoever.

Give

me leave to do what the *drapier* hath done more
ce before me; which is, to relate the naked fact,
nds in the view of the world.

William Wood, Esq; and hardwareman, obtains by
patent in England to coin 108,000 *l.* in copper to
Ireland, leaving us liberty to take or to refuse. The
here, in all sorts of bodies and representatives, do
and heartily declare, that they will not accept this
o justify these declarations they generally offer two
; first, because by the words of the patent they
: to their own choice; and secondly, because they
t obliged by law: so that you see there is *bellum*
rum, a kingdom on one side, and William Wood
other. And if Mr Wood gets the victory at the
e of Ireland's ruin, and the profit of one or two
d thousand pounds (I mean by continuing and coun-
ng as long as he lives) for himself; I doubt, both
and future ages will at least think it a very singular

his fact be truly stated, I must confess, I look upon
y duty, so far as God hath enabled me, and as long
ep within the bounds of truth, of duty, and of de-
to warn my fellow-subjects, as they value their king,
ountry, and all that ought or can be dear to them,
o admit this pernicious coin; no not so much as one
halfpenny. For, if one single thief forces the
it is in vain to talk of keeping out the whole crew

while I shall be thus employed, I will never give
leave to suppose that what I say can either offend
rd Lieutenant *, whose person and great qualities I
lways highly respected (as I am sure his Excellency
: my witness), or the ministers in England, with
I have nothing to do, or they with me; much less
vy council here; who, as I am informed, did send
ress to his Majesty against Mr Wood's coin; which
e a mistake, I desire I may not be accused for a
r of false news: but I confess, I am so great a stran-
affairs, that, for any thing I know, the whole body

* rd Carteret, *now* Earl Granville.

of the council may ſince have been changed: and although I obſerved ſome of the very ſame names in a late declaration againſt that coin, which I ſaw ſubſcribed to the proclamation againſt the *drapier*, yet poſſibly they may be different perſons: for they are utterly unknown to me, and are like to continue ſo.

In this controverſy, where the reaſoners on each ſide are divided by St George's channel, his Majeſty's prerogative perhaps would not have been mentioned, if Mr Wood and his advocates had not made it neceſſary by giving out, that the currency of his coin ſhould be enforced by a proclamation. The traders and common people of the kingdom were heartily willing to refuſe this coin; but the fear of a proclamation brought along with it moſt dreadful apprehenſions. It was therefore abſolutely neceſſary for the *drapier* to remove this difficulty; and accordingly in one of his former pamphlets he produced invincible arguments, (where-ever he picked them up), that the King's prerogative was not at all concerned in the matter; ſince the law had ſufficiently provided againſt any coin to be impoſed on the ſubject, except gold and ſilver; and that copper is not money, but, as it hath been properly called, *nummorum famulus*.

The three former letters from the *drapier* having not received any public cenſure, I look upon them to be without exception; and that the good people of the kingdom ought to read them often in order to keep up that ſpirit raiſed againſt this deſtructive coin of Mr Wood. As for this laſt letter, againſt which a proclamation is iſſued; I ſhall only ſay, that I could wiſh it were ſtripped of all that can be any way exceptionable; which I would not think it below me to undertake, if my abilities were equal; but being naturally ſomewhat ſlow of comprehenſion, no lawyer, and apt to believe the beſt of thoſe who profeſs good deſigns without any viſible motive either of profit or honour; I might pore for ever, without diſtinguiſhing the cockle from the corn.

That which I am told gives the greateſt offence in this laſt letter * is, where the *drapier* affirms, that if a rebel-

* *Letter 4.* See the note prefixed to this letter.

who

lion ſhould prove ſo ſucceſsful, as to fix the *pretender* on the throne of England, he would venture ſo far to tranſgreſs the Iriſh ſtatute, which unites Ireland to England under one king, as to loſe every drop of his blood to hinder him from being king of Ireland.

I ſhall not preſume to vindicate any man, who openly declares he would tranſgreſs a ſtatute, and a ſtatute of ſuch importance: but, with the moſt humble ſubmiſſion and deſire of pardon for a very innocent miſtake, I ſhould be apt to think, that the loyal intention of the writer might be at leaſt ſome ſmall extenuation of his crime: for in this I confeſs myſelf to think with the *drapier*.

I have not been hitherto told of any other objections againſt that pamphlet; but I ſuppoſe they will all appear at the proſecution of the *drapier*. And I think, whoever in his own conſcience believes the ſaid pamphlet to be *wicked and malicious, ſeditious and ſcandalous, highly reflecting upon his Majeſty and his miniſters*, &c. would do well to diſcover the author, (as little a friend as I am to the trade of informers), although the reward of 300 *l.* had not been tacked to the diſcovery. I own, it would be a great ſatisfaction to me to hear the arguments not only of judges, but of lawyers upon this caſe. Becauſe you cannot but know, there often happen occaſions, wherein it would be very convenient, that the bulk of the people ſhould be informed how they ought to conduct themſelves; and therefore it hath been the wiſdom of the Engliſh parliaments to be very reſerved in limiting the preſs. When a bill is debating in either houſe of parliament, there nothing is more uſual, than to have the controverſy handled by pamphlets on both ſides, without the leaſt animadverſion upon the authors.

So here, in the caſe of Mr Wood and his coin; ſince the two houſes gave their opinion by addreſſes, how dangerous the currency of that copper would be to Ireland, it was without all queſtion both lawful and convenient, that the bulk of the people ſhould be let more particularly into the nature of the danger they were in, and of the remedies that were in their own power, if they would have the ſenſe to apply them; and this cannot be more conveniently done, than by *particular* perſons, to whom God hath

given zeal and underſtanding ſufficient for ſuch an undertaking. Thus it happened in the caſe of that deſtructive project for a bank in Ireland, which was brought into parliament a few years ago; and it was allowed, that the arguments and writings of ſome without doors contributed very much to reject it.

Now, I ſhould be heartily glad, if ſome able lawyers would preſcribe the limits, how far a private man may venture in delivering his thoughts upon public matters: becauſe a true lover of his country may think it hard to be a quiet ſtander-by, and an indolent looker-on, while a public error prevails, by which a whole nation may be ruined. Every man who enjoys property, hath ſome ſhare in the public; and therefore the care of the public is in ſome degree every ſuch man's concern.

To come to particulars; I could wiſh to know, whether it be utterly unlawful in any writer ſo much as to mention the prerogative; at leaſt ſo far as to bring it into doubt upon any point whatſoever. I know it is often debated in Weſtminſter-hall; and Sir Edward Coke, as well as other eminent lawyers, do frequently handle that ſubject in their books.

Secondly, How far the prerogative extends to force coin upon the ſubject, which is not Sterling; ſuch as lead, braſs, copper, mixed metal, ſhells, leather, or any other material; and fix upon it whatever denomination the crown ſhall think fit?

Thirdly, What is really and truly meant by that phraſe of a *depending kingdom*, as applied to Ireland, and wherein that *dependency* conſiſteth?

Laſtly, In what points relating to *liberty* and *property* the people of Ireland differ, or at leaſt *ought* to differ, from thoſe of England.

If theſe particulars were made ſo clear, that none could miſtake them, it would be of infinite eaſe and uſe to the kingdom; and either prevent or ſilence all diſcontents.

My Lord Sommers, the greateſt man I ever knew of your robe, and whoſe thoughts of Ireland differed, as far as heaven and earth, from thoſe of ſome others among his brethren here, lamented to me, that the prerogative of the *crown or the* privileges of parliament ſhould ever be liable

to

ispute in any single branch of either; by which means, said, the public often suffered great inconveniencies, reof he gave me several instances. I produce the au-ity of so eminent a person to justify my desires, that e high points might be cleared.

'or want of such known ascertainment how far a writer proceed in expressing his good wishes for his coun-a person of the most innocent intentions may possibly the oratory and comments of lawyers be charged with ıy crimes, which from his very soul he abhors; and sequently may be ruined in his fortunes, and left to rot ong thieves in some stinking jail, merely for mistaking purlieus of the law. I have known in my lifetime a ıter prosecuted and convicted for publishing a pam-et *, where the author's intentions, I am confident, e as good and innocent as those of a martyr at his prayers. I did very lately, as I thought it my duty, ach to the people under my inspection upon the sub-t of Mr Wood's coin; and although I never heard it my sermon gave the least offence, as I am sure ne was intended, yet, if it were now printed and pu-shed, I cannot say, I would insure it from the hands the common hangman, or my own person from those a messenger.

I have heard the late Chief Justice Holt affirm, that in criminal cases the most favourable interpretation should put upon words that they can possibly bear. You meet same position asserted in many trials for the greatest mes; though often very ill practised by the perpetual ruption of judges. And I remember at a trial in Kent, ere Sir George Rook was indicted for calling a gentle-n knave and villain, the lawyer for the *defendant* brought his client by alledging, that the words were not inju-us; for knave in the old and true signification imported y a servant; and villain in *Latin*, is *villicus*, which is more than a man employed in country-labour, or rather ailey.

If Sir John Holt's opinion were a standard maxim for

* *Supposed to be, A proposal for the universal use of Irish manufactures, written by the author.*

all times and circumſtances, any writer with a very ſmall meaſure of diſcretion might eaſily be ſafe; but I doubt in practice it hath been frequently controlled, at leaſt before his time: for I take it to be an old rule in law.

I have read, or heard, a paſſage of Signor Leti an Italian; who being in London, buſying himſelf with writing the hiſtory of England, told King Charles II. that he endeavoured as much as he could to avoid giving offence, but found it a thing impoſſible, although he ſhould have been as wiſe as Solomon. The King anſwered, that if this were the caſe, he had better employ his time in writing proverbs as Solomon did: but Leti lay under no public neceſſity of writing; neither would England have been one halfpenny the better or the worſe, whether he writ or no.

This I mention, becauſe I know it will readily be objected, What have private men to do with the public? what call had a *drapier* to turn politician, to meddle in matters of ſtate? would not his time have been better employed in looking to his ſhop; or his pen in writing proverbs, elegies, ballads, garlands, and wonders? he would then have been out of all danger of proclamations, and proſecutions. Have we not able magiſtrates and counſellors hourly watching over the public weal? All this may be true: and yet when the addreſſes from both houſes of parliament againſt Mr Wood's halfpence failed of ſucceſs, if ſome pen had not been employed to inform the people how far they might legally proceed in refuſing that coin, to detect the fraud, the artifice, and inſolence of the coiner, and to lay open the moſt ruinous conſequences to the whole kingdom, which would inevitably follow from the currency of the ſaid coin, I might appeal to many hundred thouſand people, whether any one of them would ever have had the courage or ſagacity to refuſe it.

If this copper ſhould begin to make its way among the common ignorant people, we are inevitably undone. It is they who give us the greateſt apprehenſion, being eaſily frighted, and greedy to ſwallow miſinformations: *for,* if every man were wiſe enough to underſtand his own *intereſt,* which is every man's principal ſtudy, there would

no need of pamphlets upon this occaſion: but,
ſtand, I have thought it abſolutely neceſſary,
duty to God, my King, and my country, to in-
people, that the proclamation lately iſſued a-
drapier doth not in the leaſt affect the caſe of
l and his coin; but only refers to certain para-
the *drapier*'s laſt pamphlet *, (not immediately
o his ſubject, nor at all to the merits of the
hich the government was pleaſed to diſlike; ſo
man has the ſame liberty to reject, to write,
:clare againſt this coin, which he had before
any man obliged to believe, that thoſe honour-
ns (whereof you are the firſt) who ſigned that
e proclamation againſt the *drapier*, have at all
heir opinions with regard to Mr Wood, or his

ore concluding myſelf to be thus far upon a ſafe
oot, I ſhall continue upon any proper occaſion,
ables me, to revive and preſerve that ſpirit rai-
: nation (whether the real author were a real
· no, is little to the purpoſe) againſt this horrid
Mr Wood; at the ſame time carefully watching
ce of my pen, and venturing only to incur the
ſure of the world as a writer, not of my Lord
lice Whitſhed as a criminal. Whenever an or-
ome out by authority, forbidding all men upon
t penalties to offer any thing in writing or diſ-
inſt Mr Wood's halfpence, I ſhall certainly ſub-
wever, if that ſhould happen, I am determined
ewhat more than the laſt man in the king-
:eive them; becauſe I will never receive them at
though I know how to be ſilent, I have not yet
pay active obedience againſt my conſcience, and
ſafety.

to put a caſe, which I think the *drapier* in ſome
cs hath put before me, although not ſo fully as

ow the copper halfpence in England are coin-
public; and every piece worth pretty near the

* The 4th letter.

value

value of the copper. Now ſuppoſe, that, inſtead public coinage, a patent had been granted to ſo vate, obſcure perſon for coining a proportionable ty of copper in that kingdom, to what Mr Wood paring in this; and all of it at leaſt five times be intrinſic value: the current money of England is ed to be twenty millions; and ours under * fi dred thouſand pounds: by this computation, as M hath power to give us 108,000 pounds; ſo the in England, by the ſame proportion, might circul millions three hundred and twenty thouſand poun ſides as much more by ſtealth and counterfeits. to know from you, whether the parliament might addreſſed upon ſuch an occaſion; what ſucceſs the bly would have had; and how many *drapiers* wo riſen to peſter the world with pamphlets: yet that I would not be ſo great a ſufferer as ours in the lil becauſe their caſh would not be conveyed into countries, but lie hid in the cheſts of cautious, thri until better times. Then I deſire, for the ſatisfa the public, that you will pleaſe to inform me, w country is treated in ſo very different a manner in of ſuch high importance; whether it be on acc Poining's act; of ſubordination; dependence; or a term of art, which I ſhall not conteſt, but am toc underſtand.

I am very ſenſible, that the good or ill ſucceſs Wood will affect you leſs than any perſon of con in the kingdom; becauſe I hear you are ſo prude make all your purchaſes in England; and truly f I, if I had money, although I were to pay a years purchaſe; becauſe I ſhould be glad to poſſeſs hold, that could not be taken from me by any which I did not give my own conſent: and where never be in danger of receiving my rents in mixed at the loſs of ſixteen ſhillings in the pound. I live in eaſe and plenty at Pepperhara in Surry therefore I thought it extremely generous and pu nited in you to be of the kingdom's ſide in this diſ

* *It is ſince ſunk to* 200,000 *l.*

ng without reſerve your diſapprobation of Mr Wood's
n; at leaſt if you have been ſo frank to others as you
to me; which indeed I could not but wonder at,
dering how much we differ in other points; and there-
I could get but few believers, when I attempted to
y you in this article from your own words.
would humbly offer another thought, which I do not
mber to have fallen under the *drapier*'s obſervation.
eſe halfpence ſhould once gain admittance, it is agreed,
in no long ſpace of time, what by the clandeſtine
ices of the coiner, what by his own counterfeits, and
e of others either from abroad or at home, his li-
d quantity would be tripled upon us, until there
ld not be a grain of gold or ſilver viſible in the nation.
, in my opinion, would lay a heavy charge upon the
m by creating a neceſſity of tranſmitting money from
land to pay the ſalaries at leaſt of the principal civil
ers: for I do not conceive how a judge (for inſtance)
d ſupport his dignity with a thouſand pounds a-year
Wood's coin; which would not intrinſically be worth
two hundred. To argue that theſe halfpence, if no
r coin were current, would anſwer the general ends
ommerce among ourſelves, is a great miſtake; and the
ier hath made that matter too clear to admit an an-
, by ſhewing us what every owner of land muſt be for-
to do with the products of it in ſuch a diſtreſs. You
read his remarks at large in his ſecond or third let-
to which I refer you.
efore I conclude, I cannot but obſerve, that for ſe-
l months paſt there have more papers been written in
town, ſuch as they are, all upon the beſt public prin-
, the love of our country, than perhaps hath been
wn in any other nation in ſo ſhort a time: I ſpeak in
ral from the *drapier* down to the maker of *ballads*;
all without any regard to the common motives of
ers; which are profit, favour, and reputation. As
rofit, I am aſſured by perſons of credit, that the beſt
ad upon Mr Wood will not yield above a groat to the
or; and the unfortunate adventurer Harding * de-

* The printer of the *drapier*'s letters.

clares

clares he never made the *drapier* any preſent except one pair of ſciſſars. As to favour, whoever thinks to make his court by oppoſing Mr Wood is not very deep in politics. And as to reputation, certainly no man of worth and learning would employ his pen upon ſo tranſitory a ſubject and in ſo obſcure a corner of the world, to diſtinguiſh himſelf as an author. So that I look upon myſelf, the *drapier*, and my numerous brethren, to be all true patriots in our ſeveral degrees.

All that the public can expect for the future is, only to be ſometimes warned to beware of Mr Wood's halfpence; and to be referred for conviction to the *drapier's* reaſons. For a man of the moſt ſuperior underſtanding will find it impoſſible to make the beſt uſe of it, while he writes in conſtraint; perpetually ſoftening, correcting, or blotting out expreſſions, for fear of bringing his printer or himſelf under a proſecution from my Lord Chief Juſtice Whitſhed. It calls to my remembrance the madman in Don Quixote, who, being ſoundly beaten by a weaver for letting a ſtone (which he always carried on his ſhoulder) fall upon a ſpaniel, apprehended that every cur he met was of the ſame ſpecies.

For theſe reaſons I am convinced, that what I have now written will appear low and inſipid; but if it contributes in the leaſt to preſerve that union among us for oppoſing this fatal project of Mr Wood, my pains will not be altogether loſt.

I ſent theſe papers to an eminent lawyer (and yet a man of virtue and learning into the bargain), who, after many alterations returned them back with aſſuring me that they are perfectly innocent; without the leaſt mixture of treaſon, rebellion, ſedition, malice, diſaffection, reflection, or wicked inſinuation whatſoever.

If the *bellman* of each pariſh, as he goes his circuit would cry out every night, *Paſt twelve a clock; beware of* Wood's *halfpence;* it would probably cut off the occaſion for publiſhing any more pamphlets, provided this in country-towns it were done upon market-days. For my own part, as ſoon as it ſhall be determined, that it is not againſt law, I will begin the experiment in the liber-

Patrick's; and hope my example may be followed whole city. But if authority ſhall think fit to for- l writings or diſcourſes upon this ſubject, except are in favour of Mr Wood, I will obey as it be- me; only when I am in danger of burſting, I will whiſper among the reeds, not any reflection upon dom of my countrymen; but only theſe few words, *ARE OF* WOOD's *HALFPENCE.*

I am,

with due reſpect,

your moſt obedient,

y-houſe, *humble ſervant,*
. 1724.

J. S.

An

An humble ADDRESS to both hou PARLIAMENT *.

By M. B. DRAPIER.

Multa gemens ignominiam plagaſque ſuperbi
Victoris. ——

I Have been told, that *petitions* and *addreſſes*, to king or parliament, are the right of every ſu provided they conſiſt with that reſpect which is princes and great aſſemblies. Neither do I rem that the modeſt propoſals or opinions of private me been ill received, when they have not been deliv the ſtyle of *advice;* which is a preſumption far fr thoughts. However, if *propoſals* ſhould be looke as too aſſuming; yet I hope, every man may be ſ to declare his own and the nation's *wiſhes*. For in I may be allowed to *wiſh*, that ſome further law enacted for the advancement of *trade*, for the im ment of *agriculture*, now ſtrangely neglected agai maxims of all wiſe nations; for ſupplying the manif fects in the acts concerning the plantation of trees; f ting the poor to work; and many others.

Upon this principle I may venture to affirm, it

* This addreſs is without a date, but it appears to ha written during the firſt ſeſſion of parliament in Lord Ca government, though it did not appear till it was inſerted w preceding letter in the Dublin edition of 1735.

Among other accuracies in the Iriſh edition, two dates ſigned to the following tract; in the advertiſement prefi ſaid to have been written the firſt ſeſſion of Carteret's gover and in the title-page to be written before his arrival. *Hav*

earty *wiſh* of the whole nation, very few excepted, that ıe parliament in this ſeſſion would *begin* by ſtrictly exaıining into the deteſtable fraud of one William Wood, now r late of London, hardwareman; who *illegally* and *clanеſtinely*, as appears by your own votes and addreſſes, rocured a patent in England for coining halfpence in that ingdom to be current here. This, I ſay, is the *wiſh* of ıe whole nation, *very few excepted*; and upon account f thoſe *few*, is more ſtrongly and juſtly the *wiſh* of the eſt: thoſe *few* conſiſting either of Wood's confederates, ome obſcure tradeſmen, or certain bold UNDERTAERS of weak judgment and ſtrong ambition, who think o find their account in the ruin of the nation by ſecuring r advancing themſelves. And becauſe ſuch men proceed pon a ſyſtem of politics, to which I would fain hope you ill be always utter ſtrangers, I ſhall humbly lay it before ou.

Be pleaſed to ſuppoſe me in a ſtation of fifteen hundred ounds a-year, ſalary and perquiſites; and likewiſe poſſeſſd of 800 *l.* a-year real eſtate. Then ſuppoſe a deſtructive project to be on foot; ſuch, for inſtance, as this of Wood; which, if it ſucceed, in all the conſequences naurally to be expected from it, muſt ſink the rents and ealth of the kingdom one half, (although, I am confident, t would have done ſo five ſixths). Suppoſe, I conceive hat the *countenancing*, or privately *ſupporting* this proect, *will pleaſe thoſe by whom I expect to be preſerved, r higher exalted*: nothing then remains, but to compute nd balance my gain and my loſs, and ſum up the whole. ſuppoſe that I ſhall keep my employment ten years, not o mention the fair chance of a better. This at 1500 *l.* -year amounts in ten years to 15,000 *l.* My eſtate by the ſucceſs of the ſaid project ſinks 400 *l.* a-year; which, at twenty years purchaſe, is but 8000 *l.*; ſo that I am a clear gainer of 7000 *l.* upon the balance. And during all that period I am poſſeſſed of *power* and *credit*, can gratify my *favourites*, and take vengeance on my *enemies*. And if the project miſcarry, my private *merit* is ſtill entire. This *arithmetic*, as horrible as it appears, I *knowingly* affirm to have been practiſed, and applied in conjunctures, whereon depended *the ruin or ſafety* of a nation: although

probably the charity and virtue of a *ſenate* will hav induced to believe, that there can be ſuch monſters mankind. And yet the wiſe Lord Bacon mentions of people (I doubt the race is not yet extinct) who *ſet a houſe on fire* for the convenience of roaſting the eggs at the flame.

But whoever is old enough to remember, and hath his thoughts to obſerve the courſe of public affairs kingdom from the time of the *revolution*, muſt ac ledge, that the higheſt points of intereſt and libert been often ſacrificed to the avarice and ambition of cular perſons upon the very principles and *arithmet* I have ſuppoſed: the only wonder is, how theſe were able to prevail upon numbers, and influence e blic aſſemblies to become inſtruments for effecting th ecrable deſigns.

It is, I think, in all conſcience *latitude* enough fo if a man in *ſtation* be allowed to act injuſtice upon *ſual* principles *of getting a bribe, wreaking his ſerving his party, or conſulting his preferment*, w wickedneſs terminates in the ruin only of *particul* ſons. But to deliver up our *whole* country, and e ving ſoul who inhabits it, to *certain* deſtruction, h as I remember, been permitted by the moſt favour *ſuiſts* on the ſide of *corruption*. It were far bett all who have had the *misfortune* to be born in th dom, ſhould be rendered incapable of holding any e ment whatſoever above the degree of a *conſtable*, ding to the ſcheme and intention of a *great miniſt to his own place* *), than to live under the daily henſion of a few *falſe brethren* among ourſelves. I in the former caſe, we ſhould be wholly free from t ger of being betrayed, ſince none could *then* hav dence enough to *pretend* any public good.

It is true, that in this deſperate affair of the ne *pence* I have not heard of any man above my own of a ſhopkeeper to have been hitherto ſo bold, as i *terms* to vindicate the fatal project; although I ha

* *The late* Earl *of* Sunderland.

f ſome very *mollifying expreſſions* which were uſed,
ery *gentle expedients* propoſed and handed about,
t firſt came under debate: but ſince the eyes of the
have been ſo far opened, that the moſt ignorant
ainly ſee their own ruin in the ſucceſs of Wood's
ɔt, theſe *grand compounders* have been more cau-

that the ſame ſpirit ſtill ſubſiſts, hath manifeſtly ap-
l (among other inſtances of great compliance) from
e *circumſtances*, that have attended ſome late pro-
gs in a *court of judicature* *. There is not any
on-place more frequently inſiſted on by thoſe who
of our conſtitution, than the greateſt happineſs and
ency of trials by *juries*; yet if this bleſſed part of
w be eludible at pleaſure by the force of *power*,
s, and *artifice*, we ſhall have little reaſon to boaſt of
lvantage in this particular over other ſtates or kingdoms
ope. And ſurely theſe *high* proceedings, exerciſed
oint that ſo nearly concerned the *life-blood* of the
, their *neceſſary ſubſiſtence*, their very *food* and *rai-*
and even the *public peace*, will not allow any favour-
ppearance; becauſe it was obvious, that ſo much *ſu-*
ndant zeal could have no other deſign, or produce
her effect, than to *damp* that *ſpirit* raiſed in the na-
gainſt this accurſed ſcheme of William Wood and
ettors; to which *ſpirit* alone we owe, and for ever
owe, our being *hitherto* preſerved, and our hopes
ng preſerved for the future, if it can be kept up,
rongly countenanced by *your* wiſe aſſemblies. I wiſh
d account for ſuch a demeanor upon a more *charita-*
ndation, than that of putting our intereſt in over-
e with the ruin of our country.
emember ſome months ago, when this affair was freſh
courſe, a perſon nearly allied to SOMEBODY,
s the hawkers called him) NOBODY, who was
ht *deeply concerned*, went about very diligently a-

y Chief Juſtice Whitſhed, whoſe method with a jury may
n in the note which follows the *Propoſal for the uſe of* Iriſh
ufactures, and that at the end of *Seaſonable advice to a grand*
Hawkeſ.

mong his acquaintance, to ſhew the bad conſequences that might follow from any public reſentment to the diſadvantage of his ally, Mr Wood; principally alledging the danger of all employments being diſpoſed of from England. One of theſe emiſſaries came to me and urged the ſame topic: I anſwered naturally, that I knew there was no office of any kind, which a man from England might not have, if he thought it worth his aſking; and that I looked upon all who had the diſadvantage of being born here, as only in the condition of *leaſers* and *gleaners*. Neither could I forbear mentioning the known fable of the countryman, who intreated his aſs to fly for fear of being taken by the enemy; but the aſs refuſed to give himſelf that trouble, and upon a very wiſe reaſon; becauſe he could not poſſibly change his preſent maſter for a worſe: the enemy could not make him *fare harder, beat him more cruelly*, or load him with *heavier burthens*.

Upon theſe and many other conſiderations I may affirm it to be the wiſh of the whole nation, that the power and privileges of juries were declared, aſcertained, and confirmed by the legiſlature; and that whoever hath been manifeſtly known to violate them, might be ſtigmatized by public *cenſure*; not from any hope that ſuch a *cenſure* will amend their practices, or hurt their intereſt, (for it may probably *operate quite contrary in both*), but that the nation may know their enemies from their friends.

I ſay not this with any regard or view to myſelf; for I write in great ſecurity; and am reſolved that none ſhall merit at my expenſe, further than by ſhewing their zeal to diſcover, proſecute, and condemn me for endeavouring to do my duty in ſerving my country: and yet I am conſcious to myſelf, that I never had the leaſt intention to *reflect on his Majeſty's miniſters*, nor on any other perſon, except William Wood, whom I neither did, nor do yet conceive to be of that number. However, ſome would have it, that I went too far; but I ſuppoſe they will now allow themſelves miſtaken. I am ſure I might eaſily have gone further, and I think I could not eaſily have fared worſe. And therefore I was no further affected with their proclamation, and ſubſequent proceedings, than a good clergyman is with the ſins of the people. And as to the

poor

inter, he is now gone to appear before a higher,
re a righteous tribunal.

y intention is only to lay before your great aſſem-
general wiſhes of the nation; and as I have al-
:lared it our principal *wiſh*, that your firſt pro-
would be to examine into the pernicious fraud of
Wood; ſo I muſt add as the univerſal opinion,
ſchemes of *commutation*, *compoſition*, and the like
ts, either *avowed* or *implied*, will be of the moſt
is conſequences to the public; againſt the dignity
: kingdom; and prove an encouragement to future
rers in the ſame deſtructive projects. For it is a
which no man at preſent diſputes, that even a *con-*
to admit one thouſand pounds in theſe *halfpence*
duce in time the ſame ruinous effects, as if we o-
onſented to admit a million. It were therefore
/ more ſafe and eligible to leave things in the
l; melancholy ſtate they are at preſent, (which
r God forbid), and truſt entirely to the general
of our people againſt this coin, uſing all honeſt
ars to preſerve, continue, and increaſe that aver-
an ſubmit to apply thoſe *palliatives* which *weak*,
ss, or *abject politicians* are upon all *occaſions*, and
feaſes, ſo ready to *adminiſter*.

ne ſmall compaſs of my reading (which however
en more extenſive than is uſual to men of my in-
alling), I have obſerved, that *grievances* have al-
eceded ſupplies; and if ever *grievances* had a title
a pre-eminence, it muſt be this of Wood; becauſe
: only the greateſt *grievance* that any country could
but a *grievance* of ſuch a kind, that, if it ſhould
ceſt, would make it impoſſible for us to give any
at all, except in *adulterate copper*; unleſs a tax
id for paying the civil and military liſts, and the
enſions, with real commodities inſtead of money;
however, might be liable to ſome few objections as
difficulties; for although the *common ſoldiers* might
tent with *beef*, and *mutton*, and *wool*; and *malt*,
ther; yet I am in ſome doubt as to the *generals*,
onels, the *numerous penſioners*, the *civil officers*,
hers, who all live in England upon Iriſh pay, as
well

well as thoſe few who reſide among us only becauſe cannot help it.

There is one particular, which although I have tioned more than once in ſome of my former papers cannot forbear to repeat, and a little enlarge upon it cauſe I do not remember to have read or heard of th in the hiſtory of any age or country: neither do I ea flect upon it without the utmoſt aſtoniſhment.

After the unanimous addreſſes to his Sacred Maj gainſt this patent of Wood from both houſes of ment, which are the *three eſtates* of the kingdom likewiſe an addreſs from the privy council, to who der the chief governors the whole adminiſtration truſted; the matter is referred to a committee of in London. Wood and his adherents are heard ſide; and a few *volunteers* without any truſt or di from hence, on the other. The queſtion (as I r ber) chiefly turned upon the want of *halfpence* land: witneſſes are called on the behalf of Wo what credit, I have formerly ſhewn *): upon the if patent is found good and legal; all his Majeſty's here (not excepting the military) commanded to ing and aſſiſting to make it effectual; the addreſſes houſes of parliament, of the privy council, and of of Dublin, the declarations of moſt counties and c tions through the kingdom, are altogether laid aſi no weight, conſequence, or conſideration whatſoev the whole kingdom of Ireland *nonſuited* in default pearance; as if it were a private cauſe between Joh plaintiff, and William Row, defendant.

With great reſpect to thoſe Honourable perſo committee of council in London, I have not unc them to be our *governors*, *counſellors*, or *judges* ther did our caſe turn at all upon the queſtion, W Ireland wanted *halfpence?* For there is no doubt, bu want both halfpence, gold, and ſilver; and we ha berleſs other wants, and ſome that we are not ſo allowed to name, although they are peculiar to tion, to which no other is ſubject, whom God ha

* In letter 3.

l with *religion* and *laws*, or any degree of *ſoil* and *uſhine*: but for what *demerits* on our ſide, I am altoge-ıer in the dark.

But I do not remember, that our want of halfpence ns either affirmed or denied in any of our addreſſes or eclarations againſt thoſe of Wood. We alledged the raudulent obtaining and executing his patent, the baſe-eſs of his metal, and the prodigious ſum to be coined, hich might be increaſed by ſtealth, from foreign impor-tion, and his own counterfeits, as well as thoſe at home; hereby we muſt infallibly loſe all our little gold and ſil-er, and all our poor remainder of a very limited and iſcouraged trade. We urged, that the patent was paſſ-d without the leaſt reference hither; and without men-on of any ſecurity given by Wood to receive his own ılfpence upon demand; both which are contrary to all rmer proceedings in the like caſes. Theſe, and many her arguments we offered; but ſtill the patent went on; ıd at this day our ruin would have been half comple-d, if God in his mercy had not raiſed an univerſal dete-ıtion of theſe halfpence in the whole kingdom, with a m reſolution never to receive them, ſince we are not nder obligations to do ſo by any *law* either *human* or *vine*.

But, in the name of God and of all *juſtice* and *piety*, hen the King's Majeſty was pleaſed that this patent ſhould ıſs, is it not to be underſtood, that he *conceived*, *belie-ed*, and *intended* it as a gracious act, for the good and enefit of his ſubjects, for the advantage of a great and uitful kingdom, of the moſt loyal kingdom upon earth, here no hand or voice was ever lifted up againſt him; kingdom, where the paſſage is not of three hours from ritain, and a kingdom where *Papiſts* have leſs *power*, nd leſs *land* than in England? Can it be denied, or loubted, that his Majeſty's miniſters underſtood and pro-oſed the ſame end, *the good of this nation*, when they dviſed the paſſing this patent? Can the *perſon* of Wood e otherwiſe regarded, than as the *inſtrument*, the *mecha-ic*, the *head-workman*, to prepare his furnace, his fewel, is metal, and his ſtamps? If I employ a *ſhoeboy*, is it in iew to his advantage, or to my own convenience? I men-

tion

tion the *perſon* of William Wood alone; becauſe *no other* appears, and we are not to reaſon upon *ſurmiſes*; neither would it avail, if they had a real foundation.

Allowing therefore, (for we cannot do leſs), that this patent for the coining of halfpence was wholly intended by a gracious king, and a *wiſe public-ſpirited* miniſtry, for the advantage of Ireland; yet when the whole kingdom to a man, for whoſe good the patent was deſigned, do upon matureſt conſideration univerſally join in openly declaring, proteſting, addreſſing, petitioning againſt theſe halfpence, as the moſt ruinous project that ever was ſet on foot to complete the ſlavery and deſtruction of a poor innocent country: *is it*, *was it*, *can it*, or *will it* ever be a queſtion, not whether ſuch a kingdom, or William Wood, ſhould be a gainer; but, Whether ſuch a kingdom ſhould be *wholly undone*, *deſtroyed*, *ſunk*, *depopulated*, made a ſcene of *miſery* and *deſolation*, for the ſake of William Wood? God of his infinite mercy avert this dreadful judgment; and it is our univerſal *wiſh*, that God would put it into *your* hearts to be his inſtruments for ſo good a work.

For my own part, who am but *one* man, of obſcure condition, I do ſolemnly declare; in the preſence of almighty God, that I will ſuffer the moſt ignominious and torturing death rather than ſubmit to receive this *accurſed coin*, or *any other* that ſhall be liable to the ſame objections, until they ſhall be forced upon me by a law of *my own country*; and if that ſhall ever happen, I will tranſport myſelf into ſome *foreign* land, and eat the *bread of poverty* among a *free* people.

Am I legally puniſhable for theſe expreſſions; ſhall *another proclamation* iſſue againſt me, becauſe I preſume to take my country's part againſt William Wood, where his final deſtruction is intended? But whenever you ſhall plead to impoſe *ſilence* upon me, I will ſubmit; becauſe I look upon your *unanimous voice* to be the *voice* of the nation and this I have been taught, and do believe, to be in ſome manner the *voice* of God.

The great ignominy of a whole kingdom lying ſo low at *mercy* under ſo *vile* an adverſary, is ſuch a deplorable *aggravation*, that the utmoſt expreſſions of ſhame and rag

e too low to ſet it forth: and therefore I ſhall leave it receive ſuch a reſentment as is worthy of a *parliament*. It is likewiſe our univerſal *wiſh*, that his Majeſty ſhould ant liberty to coin halfpence in this kingdom for our own e, under ſuch reſtriction as a parliament *here* ſhall adviſe: ice the power of coining even gold and ſilver is poſſeſſed every *petty* prince abroad; and was always practiſed by otland to the very time of the *union*; yet ſurely Scotnd, as to ſoil, climate, and extent, is not in itſelf a fourth rt the value of Ireland; (for Biſhop Burnet ſays, it is t above the fortieth part in value to the reſt of Britain); id with reſpect to the profit that England gains from hence, t the forty thouſandth part. Although I muſt confeſs, at a *mote* in the *eye*, or a *thorn* in the *ſide*, is more ngerous and painful than a *beam* or a *ſpike* at a *diance*.

The hiſtories of England, and of moſt other countries, ound in relating the miſerable, and ſometimes the moſt gical effects from the abuſes of *coin* by debaſing the meal, by leſſening or enhancing the value upon *occaſions*, to e public loſs; of which we have an example within our n memory in England, and another very lately in France. is the *tendereſt* point of government, affecting every inividual in the higheſt degree. When the value of money *arbitrary* or *unſettled*, no man can well be ſaid to have y *property* at all; nor is any wound ſo ſuddenly felt, ſo ardly cured, or that leaves ſuch deep and laſting ſcars beind it.

I conceive this poor unhappy iſland to have a title to me *indulgence* from England; not only upon the ſcore f *Chriſtianity*, *natural equity*, and the *general rights of ankind*, but chiefly on account of that *immenſe profit* ey receive from us; without which that kingdom would ake a very *different* figure in Europe, from what it doth t preſent.

The rents of land in Ireland, ſince they have been *of late* ſo enormouſly raiſed and ſcrewed up, may be computed to about two millions; whereof one third part at leaſt directly tranſmitted to thoſe who are perpetual abſentees in England; as I find by a computation made with the aſſiſtance of *ſeveral ſkilful* gentlemen.

The

The other articles, by which we are altoget and England a gainer, we found to amount to much more.

I will only ſet down as many heads of them as member, and leave them to the conſideration who underſtand accounts better than I pretend to

The *occaſional* abſentees, for buſineſs, healt verſion.

Three fourths of the revenue of the chief during his abſence; which is uſually four fifths vernment.

The whole revenue of the *poſt-office*.

The *numerous penſions* paid to perſons in En

The pay of the chief officers of the army England, which is a great ſum.

Four commiſſioners of the revenue, always a

Civil employments very numerous, and of come.

The vaſt charge of appeals to the houſe of L to the court of delegates.

Students at the inns of court, and the two u

Eighty thouſand pounds ſent yearly to England whereof the prime coſt is nothing, and therefor ſit wholly theirs.

One hundred thouſand pounds paid ſeveral for corn ſent over hither from England; the eſ own *great wiſdom* in diſcouraging *agriculture*.

The *kind* liberty granted us of wearing Inc and callicoes, to gratify the vanity and folly o men; which, beſides the profit to England *, is ceivable loſs to us, forcing the weavers to beg in c or tranſport themſelves to foreign countries.

The prodigious loſs to us, and gain to Englan ing them *all* our *wool* at their own rates; wl manufacture exceeds above ten times the prim *proceeding without example in the Chriſtian o world.*

* From whence theſe commodities were exported the Eaſt-India company only having a right to import *the country* in which they are manufactured. *Hawk*

Our own *wool* returned upon us in Engliſh manufactures
) our infinite ſhame and damage, and the great advantage
f England.

The full profit of all our *mines* accruing to England;
n effect of great negligence and ſtupidity.

An affectation among us of liking all kind of goods made
ı England *.

Theſe, and many other articles, which I cannot recol-
ect at preſent, are agreed by judicious men to amount to
ear ſeven hundred thouſand pounds *per ann.* clear profit
) England. And, upon the whole, let any man look into
ioſe authors who write upon the ſubject of *commerce*, he
ıall find, that there is not one ſingle article in the eſſen-
als or circumſtances of trade, whereby a country can be
loſer, which we do not poſſeſs in the *higheſt perfection*;
)mewhat in every particular, that bears a kind of *analogy*
) William Wood; and now the *branches* are all cut off,
e ſtands ready with his *axe* at the *root*.

Upon this ſubject of *perpetual abſentees* I have ſpent
)me time in very inſignificant reflections; and conſidering
he uſual motives of human actions, which are *pleaſure*,
rofit, and *ambition*, I cannot yet comprehend how thoſe
erſons find their account in *any* of the *three*. I ſpeak
ot of thoſe Engliſh peers or gentlemen, who, beſide their
ſtates at home, have poſſeſſions here, for in that caſe the
natter is deſperate; but I mean thoſe lords, and wealthy
nights, or ſquires, whoſe birth, and partly their educa-
ion, and *all* their fortune, (except ſome trifle, and that
n a very few inſtances), are in this kingdom. I knew ma-
ıy of them well enough during ſeveral years, when I re-
ided in England; and truly I could not diſcover, that the
gure they made was by any means a ſubject for *envy*, at
eaſt it gave me *two very different paſſions*. For, except-
ng the advantage of going now and then to an *opera*, or
ſometimes appearing *behind a croud* at court, or adding to
the ring of *coaches* in Hide-Park, or loſing their mo-

* Many of the above articles have been ſince particularly computed by another writer, to whoſe treatiſe the reader is referred. *Hawkeſ.*

ney at the *chocolate-houſe*, or getting news, votes, and minutes about five days before us in Dublin; I ſay, beſides theſe and a few other privileges of *leſs* importance, their temptations to live in London were beyond my knowledge or conception. And I uſed to wonder, how a man of birth and ſpirit could endure to be wholly inſignificant and obſcure in a *foreign* country, when he might live with luſtre in *his own*; and even at leſs than half that expenſe, which he *ſtrains* himſelf to make without obtaining any *one* end, except that which happened to the *frog*, when he would needs contend for ſize with the *ox*. I have been told by ſcholars, that Cæſar ſaid he would rather be the *firſt* man in I know not what village than the *ſecond* in Rome. This perhaps was a thought only fit for Cæſar: but to be *preceded* by *thouſands* and *neglected* by *millions*; to be wholly without *power*, *figure*, *influence*, *honour*, *credit*, or *diſtinction*, is not, in my poor opinion, a very *amiable ſituation* of life to a perſon of *title* or *wealth*, who can ſo cheaply and eaſily *ſhine* in his native country.

But, beſides the depopulating of the kingdom, the leaving ſo many parts of it wild and uncultivated, the ruin of ſo many country-ſeats and plantations, the cutting down all the woods to ſupply expenſes in England; the abſence of ſo many noble and wealthy perſons hath been the cauſe of *another fatal conſequence*, which few perhaps have been aware of. For if that *very conſiderable* number of lords who poſſeſs the ampleſt fortunes here, had been content to *live at home*, and attend the affairs of their own country in *parliament*; the weight, reputation, and dignity thereby added to that noble houſe would, in all human probability, have prevented *certain proceedings*, which are now *ever to be lamented*, becauſe they *never can be remedied*: and we might have then *decided our own properties among ourſelves*, without being forced to travel five hundred miles by ſea and land to *another kingdom* for juſtice to our infinite expenſe, vexation, and trouble; which is a mark of *ſervitude* without example from the practice of any age or nation in the world.

I have ſometimes wondered, upon what motives the people of *England* were ſo deſirous to determine *our* controverſy

erſies; becauſe I have been aſſured, and *partly know*, hat the frequent *appeals* from hence have been very *irkome* to that illuſtrious body: and whoever hath frequented the *painted chamber* and *courts of requeſts* muſt have bſerved, that they are never ſo *nobly* filled, as when an riſh appeal is under debate.

The peers of Scotland, who are very numerous, were ontent to reſide in their caſtles and houſes in that *bleak nd barren climate;* and although ſome of them made frequent journeys to London, yet I do not remember any of heir greateſt families, till very lately, to have made Engand their conſtant habitation before the *union:* or if they lid, I am ſure it was generally *to their own advantage;* nd whatever they got, was employed to cultivate and inreaſe their own eſtates; and by that means enrich themelves and their country.

As to the great number of rich *abſentees* under the degree of *peers;* what particular ill effects their abſence nay have upon this kingdom, beſides thoſe already menioned, may perhaps be too tender a point for me to ouch. But whether thoſe who live in another kingdom pon great eſtates here, and have loſt all regard to their wn country, further than upon account of the *revenues hey receive from it;* I ſay, whether ſuch perſons may not e prevailed on to recommend others to *vacant ſeats*, who ave no intereſt here except a precarious employment, nd conſequently can have no views, but to preſerve hat they have got, or to be higher advanced: this, I m ſure, is a very melancholy queſtion, *if it be a queſtion t all.*

But, beſides the prodigious profit which England receives y the tranſmittal thither of two thirds of the revenues of his whole kingdom, it hath another mighty advantage by making our country a *receptacle*, wherein to *diſburden* themſelves of their *ſupernumerary* pretenders to offices; perſons of ſecond-rate merit in their own country, who, *like birds of paſſage*, moſt of them thrive and fatten here, and fly off when their *credit* and *employments* are at an end. So that Ireland may juſtly ſay what Luther ſaid of himſelf; *POOR* Ireland *maketh many rich.*

If amidſt all our *difficulties* I ſhould venture to aſſert,

that we have one great advantage; provided we could i prove it as we ought, I believe moſt of my readers wo be long in conjecturing, what *poſſible* advantage co ever fall to our ſhare. However, it is certain, that the *regular ſeeds* of *party* and *faction* among us are tirely rooted out, and if any new ones ſhall ſpring they muſt be of *equivocal* generation, without any ſ at all; and will juſtly be imputed to a degree of ſtupic beyond even what we have been ever charged with u the ſcore of our *birth-place* and *climate*.

The *parties* in this kingdom (including thoſe of r dern date) are, firſt, of thoſe who have been charged ſuſpected to *favour the pretender;* and thoſe who w *zealous oppoſers of him*. Secondly, of thoſe who w *for* and *againſt a toleration of* Diſſenters *by law*. Thi ly, of *high* and *low church;* or (to ſpeak in the *cant* the times) of *Whig* and *Tory*. And fourthly, of *co* and *country*. If there be any more, they are beyond obſervation or politics: for as to *ſubaltern* or *occaſio parties*, they have all been *derivations* from the ſame ginals.

Now, it is manifeſt, that all theſe incitements to *fact party*, and *diviſion* are wholly removed from among For as to the *pretender*, his cauſe is both *deſperate* and *ſolete:* there are very few now alive, who were *men* in father's time, and in that prince's intereſt; and in all oth the obligation of conſcience hath no place *: even *Papiſts* in general of any ſubſtance or eſtates, and t *prieſts* almoſt univerſally, are what we call *Whigs* in ſenſe which by that word is generally underſtood. T feel the *ſmart*, and ſee the *ſcars* of their former *woun* and very well know, that they muſt be made a *ſacrifice* the leaſt attempts towards a *change;* although it cannot doubted, that they would be glad to have their *ſuper tion* reſtored under any prince whatſoever.

Secondly, the *Diſſenters* are now *tolerated by la* neither do we obſerve any *murmurs* at preſent from t quarter, except thoſe *reaſonable* complaints they make

* The obligation ariſing from their having ſworn allegian *Hawkeſ.*

perſecu

'on, becauſe they are excluded from civil employ-
but their number being very ſmall in either *houſe*
ment, they are not *yet* in a ſituation to erect a
ecauſe however indifferent men may be with re-
religion, they are *now* grown wiſe enough to know,
ich a *latitude* were allowed to *Diſſenters*, the few
ployments left us in cities and corporations would
r hands to lay hold on them.

ly, the diſpute between *high* and *low church* is
n end; two thirds of the *biſhops* having been pro-
this reign, and moſt of them from England, who
lowed *all* preferments in their gift to thoſe they
ll *confide in*: the *deaneries* all, except three, and
ncipal church-livings, are in the donation of the
ſo that we already poſſeſs *ſuch a body of clergy*,
ever engage in controverſy upon that *antiquated*
oded ſubject.

, as to *court* and *country parties*, ſo famous and
under moſt reigns in Engliſh parliaments; this
hath not for ſeveral years paſt been a proper
ereon to exerciſe ſuch contentions; and is now
er than ever; many great employments for life
diſtant hands, and the *reverſions diligently*
and ſecured; the temporary ones of any *invi-*
e are all beſtowed *elſewhere* as faſt as they drop,
few remaining are of too low conſideration to
nteſts about them, except among younger bro-
tradeſmen like myſelf. And therefore, to in-
court and *country party* without *materials*, would
t new ſyſtem in politics, and what I believe was
ought on before; nor unleſs in *a nation of idiots*
ſucceed, for the moſt ignorant Iriſh cottager will
his cow for a groat.

fore I conclude, that all *party* and *faction* with
public proceedings are now extinguiſhed in this
*; neither doth it appear in view how they can
evive: unleſs ſome new cauſes be adminiſtered;
innot be done without *croſſing the intereſts of*

* this diſcourſe was written, it hath appeared by expe-
at the author was much miſtaken in his conjectures.

thoſe who are the greateſt gainers by continuing the ſame meaſures. And general calamities *without hope of redreſs* are allowed to be the great *uniters* of mankind.

However we may diſlike the *cauſes*, yet this *effect* of begetting an univerſal concord among us in all *national debates*, as well as in *cities*, *corporations*, and *country-neighbourhoods* may keep us at leaſt alive, and in a condition to eat the little bread allowed us in *peace* and *amity*. I have heard of a quarrel in a tavern, where all were at daggers-drawing, till one of the company cried out, deſiring to know the *ſubject of the quarrel*; which when none of them could tell, they put up their ſwords, ſat down, and paſſed the reſt of the evening in *quiet*. The *former part* hath been our caſe, I hope the *latter* will be ſo too; that we ſhall ſit down amicably together, at leaſt until we have *ſomething* that may give us a title to fall out, ſince nature hath inſtructed even a brood of *goſlings* to *ſtick together*, while the *kite* is hovering over their heads.

It is certain, that a firm *union* in any country, where every man wiſhes the ſame thing with relation to the public, may in ſeveral points of the greateſt importance in ſome meaſure ſupply the *defect of power*, and even *of thoſe rights which are the natural and undoubted inheritance of mankind*. If the univerſal *wiſh* of the nation upon any point were declared by the unanimous vote of the houſe of Commons and a reaſonable number of Lords, I ſhould think myſelf obliged in conſcience to act in my ſphere according to that vote; becauſe in all free nations I take the proper definition of *law* to be, The *will of the majority of thoſe who have the property in land*; which if there be a monarchy, is to be confirmed by the royal aſſent. And although ſuch *votes* or *declarations* have not received ſuch a confirmation for certain *accidental reaſons*; yet I think they ought to be of much weight with the *ſubject*, provided they neither oppoſe the King's prerogative, endanger the peace of the nation, nor infringe any law already in force; none of which however can reaſonably be ſuppoſed. Thus, for inſtance, of nine in ten of the houſe of Commons, and a reaſonable number of native temporal Peers, ſhould declare, that whoever re*ceived* or uttered *braſs coin*, except under certain limita-

tion

ſecurities, ſhould be deemed as enemies to the *the nation;* I ſhould think it a hainous ſin in act contrary to ſuch a vote: and if the ſame uld declare the ſame *cenſure* againſt thoſe who n ſtuffs and *callicoes*, or *woollen manufactures rom abroad*, whereby this nation is reduced to ebb of miſery, I ſhould *readily*, *heartily*, and pay obedience; and to my utmoſt power per- rs to do the like: becauſe there is no *law* of bliging us either to *receive ſuch coin*, or to *wear n manufactures*.

this laſt article I could humbly wiſh, that the the *clergy* would ſet us an example by content- lves with wearing gowns and other habiliments rapery; which, as it would be ſome incitement y, and ſet many hands to work, ſo they would dvantage in the *cheapneſs*, which is a circum- to be neglected by *too many* among that vene- . † And in order to this I could heartily de- he moſt ingenious artiſts of the weaving trade trive ſome decent ſtuffs and ſilks for *clergymen* ble rates.

preſſed ſeveral of our moſt ſubſtantial brethren, hole corporations of *weavers* in ſilk and wool- publiſh ſome *propoſals*, (I wiſh they would do it ouſes of parliament), inviting perſons of all de- of both ſexes, to wear the woollen and ſilk ma- of our own country; entering into ſolemn, gagements, that the buyer ſhall have good, merchantable ware for his money, and at a e, without the trouble of cheapening. So that child for a piece of ſtuff of a particular colour ſs, I ſhould be ſure not to be deceived; or if on to complain, the corporation ſhould give me

ith ſince been put in practice by the perſuaſions and the ſuppoſed author; but much defeated by the moſt aud of ſhopkeepers. *Hawkeſ.*

heme was likewiſe often urged to the weavers by the thor; but he could never prevail on them to put it in. *Hawkeſ.*

immediate ſatisfaction; and the name of the tradeſman, who did me the wrong, ſhould be publiſhed; and warning given not deal with him for the future; unleſs the matter plainly appeared to be a miſtake: for, beſide the trouble of going from ſhop to ſhop, an ignorant cuſtomer runs the hazard of being cheated in the price and goodneſs of what he buys, being forced to an unequal combat with a dexterous and diſhoneſt man in his own calling. Thus our goods fall under a general diſreputation; and the gentry call for Engliſh cloth, or ſilk, from an opinion they have, (and often too juſtly by our own faults), that the *goodneſs* more than makes up for the difference of price.

Beſides, it hath been the ſottiſh and ruinous practice of us tradeſmen, upon any great demand of goods either at home or from abroad, to raiſe the prices immediately, and manufacture the ſaid goods more ſlightly and fraudulently than before.

Of theſe foul and fooliſh proceedings too many inſtances might be produced; and I cannot forbear mentioning one whereby this poor kingdom hath received ſuch a fatal blow in the only *article of trade* allowed us of any importance, that nothing but the ſucceſs of Wood's project could outdo it. During the late plague in France, the Spaniards, who buy their linen cloths in that kingdom, not daring to venture thither for fear of infection, a very great demand was made here for that commodity, and exported to Spain: but, whether by the ignorance of the merchants, or diſhoneſty of the *northern* weavers, or the colluſion of both, the ware was ſo bad, and the price ſo exceſſive, that, except ſome ſmall quantity which was ſold below the prime coſt, the greateſt part was returned: and I have been told by very intelligent perſons, that if we had been fair dealers, the whole current of the linen trade to Spain would have taken its courſe from hence.

If any puniſhment were to be inflicted on *numbers of men*, ſurely there could none be thought too great for ſuch a race of *traitors*, and *enemies* to God and their country; who, for the proſpect of a little *preſent* gain, do not only ruin themſelves, (for that alone would be an *example* to the reſt, and a *bleſſing* to the nation), but ſell their *ſouls to hell*, and their country to deſtruction. And if the

plag

plague could have been confined only to thoſe who were *partakers in the guilt*, had it travelled hither from Marſeilles, thoſe wretches would have died with leſs title to *pity*, than a *highwayman* going to the gallows.

But it happens very unluckily, that for *ſome time paſt* all endeavours or propoſals from private perſons to advance the public ſervice, however honeſtly and innocently deſigned, have been called FLYING IN THE KING'S FACE; and this, to my knowledge, hath been the ſtyle of *ſome perſons*, whoſe *anceſtors* (I mean thoſe among them who *had any*) and themſelves have been *flying in princes faces* theſe fourſcore years; and from their own inclinations would do ſo ſtill, if their intereſt did not lead them rather to *fly in the face* of a kingdom, which hath given them *wings* to enable them for ſuch a *flight*.

Thus, about four years ago, when a diſcourſe * was publiſhed, endeavouring to perſuade our people to wear their own woollen manufactures, full of the moſt dutiful expreſſions to the King, and without the leaſt party-hint, it was termed *flying in the King's face*; the *printer* was proſecuted in the manner we all remember, and I hope *it will ſomewhere be remembered further*, the *jury* kept eleven hours, and ſent back nine times, till they were under the neceſſity of leaving the priſoner to the mercy of the court, by a *ſpecial verdict*; the † *judge* on the bench *invoking God for his witneſs*, when he aſſerted, that the author's deſign was to bring in the *pretender*.

And thus, alſo, my own poor endeavours to prevent the ruin of my country by the admiſſion of Wood's coin were called by the ſame perſons, *flying in the King's face*; which I directly deny: for I cannot allow that vile repreſentation of the royal *countenance* in William Wood's adulterate copper to be his Sacred Majeſty's *face*; or if it were, my *flying* was not againſt the *impreſſion*, but the *baſeneſs* of the *metal*; becauſe I well remembered, that the *image* which Nebuchadnezzar *commanded to be ſet up for all men to fall down and worſhip it*, was not of COPPER, but pure GOLD. And I am heartily ſorry, we

* The propoſal for the univerſal uſe of Iriſh manufactures.

† *Judge Whitſhed.*

have

have ſo few *royal images* of that *metal* among us; ſight whereof, although it could hardly increaſe our ve ration for his Majeſty, which is already ſo great, yet wo very much *enliven* it with the mixture of *comfort* ; *ſatisfaction*.

Alexander the Great would ſuffer no ſtatuary, exc Phidias, to carve his image in ſtone or metal. How n he have treated ſuch an operator as Wood, who goe bout with *ſackfulls* of *droſs*, odiouſly miſrepreſenting prince's *countenance* ; and would force them by thouſ upon every one of us at above *ſix times the value?*

But, notwithſtanding all that hath been objected William Wood himſelf, together with his *favourers bettors, ſupporters*, either *public* or *private* ; by thoſe *connive* at this project, or *diſcourage* and *diſcounten* his *oppoſers* for fear of leſſening their *favour*, or haz ing their *employments* ; by thoſe who endeavour to a the *ſpirit* of the people raiſed againſt this coin, or c the honeſt zeal of ſuch as by their *writings* or *diſco* do all they can to keep it up; by thoſe *ſofteners, fa eners, compounders*, and *expedient-mongers*, who j their *heads* ſo ſtrongly that we can *hear their pockets gle* ; I did never imagine, that in detecting the practic ſuch *enemies* to the kingdom I was *flying in the King's j* or thought they were better *repreſenters* of his Ma than that very *coin* for which they are ſecret or ope vocates.

If I were allowed to recite only thoſe *wiſhes* of th tion, which may be in our power to attain ; I think might be ſummed up in theſe few following.

Firſt, that an end might be put to our apprehenſio Wood's halfpence, and to any danger of the like del tive ſcheme for the future.

Secondly, that halfpence might be coined in this l dom by a public mint with due limitations.

Thirdly, that the ſenſe of both houſes of parliar at leaſt of the houſe of Commons, were declared by *unanimous* and *hearty votes* againſt wearing any fi woollen manufactures imported from abroad ; as like *againſt* wearing Indian ſilks or callicoes, which are *bidden* under the higheſt penalties in England : and

us to take example from ſo wiſe a nation: becauſe
e under a greater neceſſity to do ſo, ſince we are not
ed to export any woollen manufactures of our own;
is the principal branch of foreign trade in Eng-

urthly, that ſome effectual methods may be taken to
e the poorer ſort of our natives in all thoſe parts of
ingdom, where the Iriſh abound, by introducing a-
them our language and cuſtoms; for want of which
ve in the utmoſt ignorance, barbarity, and poverty,
themſelves wholly up to idleneſs, naſtineſs, and
ry, to the very great and juſt reproach of too
landlords. And if I had in me the leaſt ſpirit of a
'or, I would engage, that this might be effected in a
ars at a very inconſiderable charge.
hly, that due encouragement ſhould be given to *a-*
'ure; and a ſtop put to that pernicious practice of gra-
ngroſſing vaſt quantities of land, ſometimes at great
e; whereby the country is extremely depopulated.
hly, that the defects in thoſe acts for planting fo-
ees might be fully ſupplied, ſince they have hitherto
'holly ineffectual; except about the demeſnes of a
ntlemen; and even there in general very unſkilful-
e, and thriving accordingly. Neither hath there yet
ne care taken to preſerve what is planted, or to incloſe
ls; not one hedge in a hundred coming to maturity for
f ſkill and induſtry. The neglect of *copſing* woods
own hath likewiſe been of very evil conſequences.
men were reſtrained from that unlimited liberty of
down their own woods before the proper time, as
ire in ſome other countries, it would be a mighty
to the kingdom. For, I believe, there is not an-
example in Europe of ſuch a prodigious quantity of
nt timber cut down in ſo ſhort a time, with ſo little
age to the country either in *ſhipping* or *building*.
ay add that abſurd practice of cutting *turf* without
gularity; whereby great quantities of reſtorable land
ide utterly deſperate, many thouſands of cattle de-
d, the *turf* more difficult to come at and carry home,
ſs fit for burning; the air made unwholeſome by
ing pools and marſhes; and the very ſight of ſuch

places

places offenſive to thoſe who ride by. Neither ſh
odious cuſtom be allowed of cutting *ſcraws* (as
them), which is flaying of the green ſurface of th
to cover their cabins, or make up their ditches ; ſ
in ſhallow ſoils, where all is gravel within a few
and ſometimes in low ground, with a thin gre
and ſloughy underneath ; which laſt turns all int
this miſmanagement. And I have heard from ve
countrymen, that by theſe two practices in *turf* an
the kingdom loſeth ſome hundreds of acres of
land every year ; beſides the irreparable loſs of m
of bogs, which have a green coat of graſs, anc
mangled for *turf ;* and beſides the want of canals
lar cutting, which would not only be a great co
for bringing their *turf* home at an eaſy rate, bu
render even the larger bogs more dry and ſafe for
paſture.

Theſe, and ſome other ſpeculations of the lik
had intended to publiſh in a particular diſcourſe a
ſeſſion of parliament ; becauſe, in ſome periods o
I had opportunity and curioſity to obſerve, fr
cauſes thoſe great errors in every branch of cou
nagement have ariſen ; of which I have now ve
relate but few out of very many ; whereof ſom
would not be mentioned without giving offence,
have endeavoured by all poſſible means to avoid.
the ſame reaſon I choſe to add here the little I
proper to ſay on this ſubject.

But, as to the lands of thoſe who are *perpetu
tees*, I do not ſee any probability of their being
proved. In former times their tenants ſat at eaſ
but for ſome years paſt they have been, general
ing, more terribly racked by the dexterity of *me
gents* from England, than even thoſe who held u
ſevereſt landlords here. I was aſſured upon the place
numbers of credible people, that a prodigious eſt
county of Cork being let upon leaſes for lives, and g
paid, the rent was ſo high that the tenants begge
ſurrender their *leaſes*, and were content to loſe the

The cultivating and improvement of land is ce
ſubject worthy of the higheſt inquiry in any cou

y in ours; where we are ſo ſtrangely limited in e-
nch of trade that can be of advantage to us, and
leprived of thoſe which are of the greateſt import-
hereof I defy the moſt learned man in Europe to
me an example from any other kingdom in the
for we are denied the benefit which God and na-
nded to us; as manifeſtly appears by our *happy*
for commerce, and the *great number of our ex-*
orts. So that I think, little is left us beſides the
ıg our own ſoil, encouraging *agriculture*, and
great plantations of trees, that we might not be
e neceſſity of ſending for *corn* and *bark* from Eng-
d *timber* from other countries. This would in-
e number of our inhabitants, and help to conſume
ıral products as well as manufactures at home.
all never forget what I once ventured to ſay to a
n in England, that few *politicians*, with all their
are half ſo uſeful members of a commonwealth,
eſt farmer; who, by ſkilfully draining, fencing,
, and planting, hath increaſed the intrinſic value of
f land; and thereby done a *perpetual ſervice* to
ry; which it is a great controverſy whether any of
er ever did, ſince the creation of the world; but
)verſy at all, that ninety-nine in a hundred have
ndance of miſchief.

h, in the foregoing letters, Dr Swift talks of liberty in
ghly becoming a warm and zealous defender of the rights
ntry, which he maintains with great force of law, rea-
e, and eloquence; he never once deviates, in the whole
his arguments, from the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics
ſt loyal ſubject; whatever might to the contrary have
)ſed by a few degenerate ſlaves and ſycophants in thoſe
:n by that ſort of people, who, as the wiſe Lord Bacon
t, would ſet a houſe on fire for the convenience of roaſt-
wn eggs at the flame.
:r indeed ſuch was the iniquity of the times, that a re-
)0l. was offered for the author of the 4th letter, chief-
he had maintained therein the liberty of his country,
ed in very high terms worthy of a brave and reſolute
t *he would continue firm* and faithful to his Sovereign
Lord

Lord the King, whatever turn, in the viciſſitudes o
his Majeſty's affairs might poſſibly take in other parts
nions. ------ I ſhall only remark upon this doctrine,
of which would, I think, have been high treaſon, an
oath of allegiance, that how much ſoever it was cond
1724 by ſlaves and flatterers; it was in 1745 ſo uni
bliſhed in the minds of men, that if there had been
the people of Ireland to have drawn the ſword in def
ſovereign, (which, beſide their loyalty and affection to
they have many reaſons to thank God for that there
George II. would undoubtedly have been ſupported
to the imperial kingdom of Ireland, let his Majeſty's
ther parts of his dominions have taken what turn the
300,000 as brave militia as any to be found throughout
even by the grandchildren of thoſe men ſo renowned
lorous atchievements in the days of K. William III. -
author of the 4th letter could not be diſcovered, Harc
ter was indicted in the uſual forms, and brought t
bench, to be tried before that William Whitſhed abc
ed. „But the noble jury, friends to their country ar
blic intereſt, would not find the bill. Whereupon th
ſtice in a rage diſſolved the jury: on account of whi
ved to have been impeached by the houſe of Commo
the diſſolving of a grand jury, &c. See above, p. 85

ıe DRAPIER DEMOLISHED, and ſet out in his own proper colours; being a full CONFUTATION of all his ARGUMENTS againſt Mr WOOD's HALFPENCE.

By WILLIAM WOOD, Eſq;

Written in the year 1724.

Ye good people of Ireland,

Make not the leaſt doubt, when ye have impartially weighed and conſidered what I ſhall offer upon the reſent occaſion in my own defence, and againſt your rapier; when ye ſhall make an exact *aſſay* of the arguents on both ſides between him and me; and, laſtly, hen ye ſhall obſerve, as I ſhall point it out, the abuſive nd reproachful language with which he has treated me; ſay, as I ſaid before, I make not the leaſt doubt, but ye ill all to a man reject him, and embrace me with open rms.

In his firſt letter to the *tradeſmen, ſhopkeepers, farmrs, and common people in general of the kingdom of Ireland*, [above, p. 17.], he begins with the wheedling preamble of *Brethren, friends, countrymen, and fellow-ſubjects*. A loving beginning indeed! But I wonder which of us two loves you beſt; he that is getting you no money at all, or I who am this preſent providing more money for you than you ſhall know what to do with. O ſad! O ſad! I am really concerned for the poor Drapier. Soon after he proceeds, and ſays,

"It is a great fault among you, that when a perſon "writes with no other intention than to do you good, "you will not be at the pains to read his advices." [p. 19.]

Artful enough indeed! This he did to draw you in like ſo many gudgeons, to *ſwallow* his falſe arguments; and you

ſee he has accompliſhed his end at laſt; for read his letters, ye might have had the benefit pence theſe five or ſix months paſt.

" Now, you muſt know, that the halfpen " things in England paſs for very little mor " are worth; and if you ſhould beat them to " ſell them to the braſier, you would not " above a penny in a ſhilling. But Mr Woo " halfpence of ſuch baſe metal, and ſo much " the Engliſh ones, that the braſier would " you above a penny of good money for a " his." [p. 20.]

Ay, would he give three pence. But one malice here with half an eye. He does not vaſt expenſe and trouble I am at in coining; th clerks I keep in pay; how much I was out o getting my *patent;* the great expenſe I ſha ſhipping them to Ireland; which muſt, in the things, be a vaſt drawback to the profit which have for my trouble; and therefore it cannot I I can either put as much or as good copper in th for Ireland, as thoſe for England. But, goo not a halfpenny a halfpenny when once it is call if it paſſes for a halfpenny, can you expect Good people, never mind one word he ſays, ſells you a dozen hats at five ſhillings apiece three pound, is but five ſhillings in my m is perfect *tranſubſtantiation* to juggle you o ſenſes —— three pound is but five ſhillings! W be his computation, I have done.

" This ſame Mr Wood was able to attend " for his own intereſt;" [and why ſhould not " is an Engliſhman, and had great friends," thanked for that]; " and it ſeems knew very " to give money to thoſe that would ſpeak to o " could ſpeak to the King, and would tell a [I grant that, and what would he infer?] Th ceeds: " If his Majeſty the King ſaw that it w " ly ruin the kingdom of Ireland, he would ſh " pleaſure to ſomebody or other But a word " is enough." [We know his meaning by his

as well ſpoken what he thought, like an honeſt
He proceeds]: " Moſt of you muſt have heard
what anger our honourable houſe of Commons re-
d an account of this Wood's patent. There were
al fine ſpeeches made upon it, and plain proofs,
it was all a wicked cheat, from the bottom to
op; and ſeveral ſmart votes were printed, which
ſame Wood had the aſſurance to anſwer like-
in print, and in ſo confident a way, as if he were
tter man than our whole parliament put together."
. 21.]
parliament was angry—made ſpeeches—found me
wicked cheat—and I anſwered as if I had been a
nan than the whole parliament ——Well, I find
apier will ſay any thing; but I am very glad all the
n of Ireland knows to the contrary. Let the Dra-
wer me only theſe three queſtions: Where did this
ent fit? And where are the ſpeeches? And where
nſwer?
he common ſoldier, when he goes to the market or
ouſe, will offer this money," [meaning my half-
; " and if it be refuſed, perhaps he will ſwagger,
rector, and threaten to beat the butcher or alewife,"
en indeed! he will do it in earneſt], " or take the
s by force, and throw them the bad halfpence."
ſhould he not? Is it any robbery if he pays them!]
iis and the like caſes, the ſhopkeeper, or victualler,
ıy other tradeſman, has no more to do, than to de-
l ten times the price of his goods, if it is to be
in Wood's money; for example, *twenty pence for*
art of ale." [p. 21.] The devil is in his con-
twenty pence for a quart of ale! I believe ſuch
propoſal was never ſince Adam. To conſider all
ings in proportion, what miſchief would this oc-
That is, fifteen ſhillings a-bottle for claret, at
ı pence a-bottle; for a flaſk of Burgundy five and
illings; fifty ſhillings a-day for a coach; ten ſhillings
r for a twelve-penny ordinary; thirty ſhillings a-
a chair; ten pence a freſh egg; five pence a half-
oll; two pence halfpenny for a pint of ſmall beer.
, *by his advice, victuallers, vintners*, and tradeſ-

folk would ſoon get all the money of the kingd their own hands, ſhould they all follow the *p example.* And now to conſider the poor, the be undone by the Drapier's advice; the butche have eighteen pence for a ſheep's head; the b ſhillings for a twelve-penny loaf; and thus wo in proportion as to all their other exigencies. rather take my advice; *two pence a-quart, Meſſing.*

In p. 22. he denies that my halfpence are law ney of England or Ireland. I ſuppoſe then he wo them lawful money of Scotland or Wales; for t be lawful ſomewhere. For does he think, u ſcarcity of money we find at preſent, that we c to let fourſcore and ten thouſand pound lie dead no other argument to ſhew what a friend he i *public.*

" They ſay, 'Squire Conolly hath ſixteen " pounds a-year; now, if he ſends for his rent " as it is likely he doth, he muſt have two hun " fifty horſes to bring up his half-year's rent."

Suppoſe he muſt, where is the great hardſhip? of ſixteen thouſand a-year cannot afford two hun fifty horſes to draw his money, he deſerves to wa engage his under-tenants will lay it down at his d it ſhall not coſt him a farthing for the carriage.

" Theſe halfpence, if they once paſs, will ſoon " terfeited, becauſe it may be cheaply done, th " ſo baſe. The Dutch likewiſe will probably do " thing, and ſend them over to us to pay for our [p. 23.]

The ſtuff is good ſtuff, let him ſay what he w the halfpence are good halfpence, and I will ſtand I made them of ſilver, it would be the ſame thin grumbler. As for their being counterfeit, ſure th terfeit gold and ſilver, and can one help that? for t have been rogues of coiners in the world, and w the end of it. As for the Dutch, it is time en complain when they do coin. I am certain they coined one halfpenny as yet; and if they ſhould take care to ſtock you ſo well, that you ſhall hav

caſion for theirs; ſo that they may carry them home again if they pleaſe.

"It would be very hard, if all Ireland ſhould be put "into one ſcale, and this ſorry fellow Wood into the "other; that Mr Wood and his halfpence ſhould weigh "down this whole kingdom, by which England gets "above a million of good money every year clear into "their pockets; and that is more than the Engliſh do by "all the world beſides." [p. 24.]

Parturiant montes — But I beg pardon for talking to him in a language which he does not underſtand.

"A famous *law-book*, called *The mirror of juſtice*, "diſcourſing of the charters, (or laws), ordained by our "*ancient kings*, declares the law to be as follows: It "was ordained, that no *king* of this realm ſhould *change*, "*impair*, or *amend*, or make any *money* than of *gold* or "*ſilver*, without the aſſent of all the counties; that is, "as my Lord Coke [1. Inſt. 576.] ſays, without the aſſent "of *parliament*." [p. 24.]

Then he concludes, according to cuſtom, with his fine flattering ſpeeches.

"I will now, my dear friends, to ſave you the trouble, "ſet before you in ſhort what the law obliges you to do, "and what it does not oblige you to." [This Drapier is an excellent lawyer, I wonder he is not made a Lord Chancellor].

"Firſt, you are obliged to take all money in pay- "ments which is coined by the King, and is of the "Engliſh ſtandard or weight, provided it be of gold or "ſilver.

"Secondly, you are not obliged to take any money "which is not of gold or ſilver. ——

"Thirdly, much leſs are we obliged to take thoſe vile "halfpence of that ſame Wood. ——

"Therefore, my friends, ſtand to it one and all: re- "fuſe this filthy traſh. It is no treaſon to rebel againſt "Mr Wood. His Majeſty, in his patent, obliges nobody "to take theſe halfpence." [p. 27.]

So then, at this rate they are coined for nobody, by ſome body; and ſomebody is to get nothing by nobody. I have made a fine hand of my patent and coinage. Ye ſee,

Gentlemen, the force of that argument which the l offers; but I find logic is not his talent. Thus l with great patience, gone through this injurious p ſatire upon myſelf contained in this firſt letter. But ing that the beſt undertakers have always met with e and detractors, I comfort myſelf that I have far d this malicious author; that you are all convinced now for all your goods; and though a perfect ſtra the country of Ireland, yet a little time will ſhe induſtry and pains it has coſt me, to make you a flo and a happy people. It is my inclination to pre good underſtanding between me and you, however people may endeavour to interpoſe. Before I conc have one complaint more: I am told, that *pitiful*, *cious*, *inſidious*, *undermining*, *ſcribbling Drapier* a parcel of *tattered*, *filthy*, *Iriſh*, *buttermilk*, *ſcoundrels*, to carry my effigies about in *Wood*, anc wards hang it at Stephen's Green, [p. 155.]; for I hope, when the parliament ſits, to have ample ſatisf I am glad that none of the gentry of Ireland were c ed in that abominable proceſſion.

I am your beſt frien

T

l and true account of the ſolemn proceſ-
ı to the GALLOWS, at the execution of
ILLIAM WOOD, Eſq; and hardware-
n *.

Written in the year 1724.

: time ago, upon a report ſpread, that William
ood, hardwareman, was concealed in his brother-
† houſe here in Dublin, a great number of people
rent conditions, and of both ſexes, crouded about
ır, determinately bent to take revenge upon him,
ner and a counterfeiter. Amongſt the reſt, a cer-
rious perſon ſtanding in a corner obſerved, that
l diſcovered their reſentments in the proper terms
preſſions of their ſeveral trades and callings;
f he wrote down as many as he could remem-
ıd was pleaſed to communicate them to me, with
ɔ publiſh them for the uſe of thoſe who at any
reafter may be at a loſs for proper words wherein
eſs their good diſpoſitions towards the ſaid William

:ople cried out to have him delivered into their
hands.
the parliament-man. *Expel* him the *houſe*.
ırliament-man. I ſecond that *motion*.
:. I'll *baſte* him.
ook. I'll give him his *bellyfull*.
ook. I'll give him a *lick* in the *chops*.

ıis piece the author makes the ſeveral artificers attend
Wood (repreſented by a log of timber) to the gallows,
tradeſman expreſſes his reſentment in the terms of his
lling. Then follows the proceſſion, moſt humorouſly de-
The whole is a piece of ridicule too powerful for the
gravity to withſtand. *Orrery*.

Molyneux an ironmonger.

4th

4th Cook. I'll *fowce* him.
Drunken-man. I'll beat him as long as I can *ſtand*.
Bookſeller. I'll turn over a *new leaf* with him.
Saddler. I'll *pummel* him.
Glazier. I'll make the *light* ſhine through him.
Grocer. I'll *pepper* him.
Groom. I'll *curry* his hide.
'Pothecary. I'll *pound* him.
2d 'Pothecary. I'll beat him to *mummy*.
Schoolmaſter. I'll make him an *example*.
Rabbetcatcher. I'll *ferret* him.
Paviour. I'll *thump* him.
Coiner. I'll give him a *rap*.
WHIG. *Down* with him.
TORY. *Up* with him.
Miller. I'll daſh out his *grinders*.
2d Miller. *Dam* him.
Boatman. *Sink* him.
Scavenger. Throw him in the *kennel*.
Dyer. I'll beat him *black* and *blue*.
Bagnioman. I'll make the *houſe* too *hot* for him.
Whore. *Pox* rot him.
2d Whore. Let me *alone* with him.
3d Whore. *Clap* him up,
Muſtard-maker. I'll have him by the *noſe*.
Curate. I'll make the *devil come out of him*.
Popiſh prieſt. I'll *ſend him* to the devil.
Dancingmaſter. I'll *teach him better manners*.
2d Dancingmaſter. I'll make him cut a *caper* th
ſtory high.
Farmer. I'll *thraſh him*.
Tailor. I'll ſit on his *ſkirts*.
2d Tailor. *Hell* is too good for him.
3d Tailor. I'll *pink* his *doublet*.
4th Tailor. I'll make his a —— make *buttons*.
Baſketmaker. I'll *hamper* him.
Fiddler. I'll have him by the *ears*.
2d Fiddler. I'll bang him to ſome *tune*.
Barber. I'll have him by the *beard*.
2d Barber. I'll pull his *whiſkers*.
3d Barber. I'll make his *hair* ſtand on end.

Barber. I'll *comb* his *locks*.
:er. I'll try what *metal* he's made of.
er. I'll make an *end* of him.
acconiſt. I'll make him *ſmoke*.
'obacconiſt. I'll make him ſet up his *pipes*.
finder. I'll make him *ſtink*.
:ney-coachman. I'll make him know his *driver*.
ſackney-coachman. I'll *drive* him to the devil.
her. I'll have a *limb* of him.
utcher. Let us *blow him up*.
utcher. My *knife* in him.
e. I'll *ſwaddle* him.
aptiſt. We'll *dip* the rogue in the *pond*.
r. I'll *rub* him *down*.
maker. Set him in the *ſtocks*.
er. I'll kick him to *half-crowns*.
anker. I'll *pay* him off.
er. I'll have a *rubber* with him.
eſter. I'll make his *bones rattle*.
:emaker. I'll *lace* his ſides.
ener. I'll make him *water his plants*.
ife. I'll *reckon* with him.
old. I'll make him pull in his horns.
voman. I'll *mumble* him.
man. I'll *throttle* him.

at laſt the people, having received aſſurances, that
n Wood was neither in the houſe nor kingdom, ap-
certain commiſſioners to hang him in effigie; where-
whole ceremony and proceſſion deſerve to be tranſ-
:o poſterity.
, the way was cleared by a detachment of the *black-*
with ſhort ſticks in their hands, and cockades of
n their hats.
n appeared William Wood, Eſq; repreſented to
by an old piece of carved timber, taken from the
a ſhip. Upon his face, which looked very diſmal,
ted at proper diſtances ſeveral pieces of his own coin,
ote who he was, and to ſignify his calling and his
He wore on his head a peruke, very artfully com-
of *four old mops; a halter* about his neck ſerved him
for

for a cravat. His cloaths were indeed not ſo neat gant as is uſual with perſons in his condition, (wh cenſorious people imputed to affectation), for he vered with a large rugg of ſeveral colours in pat he was borne upon the ſhoulders of an able-bodie In his march by St Stephen's green, he often bc both ſides to ſhew his reſpects to the company; his ment was grave; and his countenance, though ſo penſive, was very compoſed.

Behind him followed his father alone, in a long ing cloak, with his hat over his noſe, and a hand in his left hand to wipe the tears from his face.

Next in order marched the executioner *himſelf ſon;* whoſe venerable aſpect drew the eyes of th aſſembly upon him; but he was further diſtinguiſh halter, which he bore upon his left ſhoulder as th of his office.

Then followed two perſons hand in hand; the preſenting William Wood's brother-in-law; the certain *faddler*, his intimate friend, whoſe name I Each had a ſmall kettle in his hand, wherein wa ſonable quantity of the new halfpence. At pro riods they ſhook their kettles, which made a mel ſound, like the ringing of a knell for their partner a federate.

After theſe followed ſeveral officers, whoſe a was neceſſary for the more decent performance great work in hand.

The proceſſion was cloſed with an innumerabl of people, who frequently ſent out loud huzzas; were cenſured by wiſer heads as a mark of inhu and an ungenerous triumph over the unfortunate, duly conſidering the various viciſſitudes of hum However, as it becomes an impartial hiſtorian, I conceal one obſervation, that Mr Wood himſelf a wholly unmoved, without the leaſt alteration in hi tenance; only when he came within ſight of the fa which happened to be of the ſame ſpecies of timb his own perſon, he ſeemed to be ſomewhat penſive

At the place of execution he appeared undaunt was ſeen to ſhed a tear. He made no reſiſtance, t

d himſelf with great reſignation to the hangman, who indeed thought to uſe him with too much roughneſs, er kiſſing him, nor aſking him pardon. His dying ECH was printed, and deſerves to be written in let- of GOLD. Being aſked whether it were his own genuine SPEECH, he did not deny it.

hoſe of the ſofter ſex, who attended the ceremony, ated that ſo comely and well-*timbered* a man ſhould to ſo untimely an end. He hung but a ſhort time; pon feeling his breaſt, they found it cold and ſtiff.

is ſtrange to think, how this melancholy ſpectacle d the hearts of the people to compaſſion. When he cut down, the body was carried through the whole o gather contributions for his wake; and all ſorts of e ſhewed their liberality according as they were able. ceremony was performed in an alehouſe of diſtinction, n a manner ſuitable to the quality of the deceaſed. le the attendants were diſcourſing about his funeral, a ny member of the aſſembly ſtood up, and propoſed, the body ſhould be carried out the next day, and d with the ſame pomp and formalities uſed at his ex- on; which would prevent the malice of his enemies, all indignities that might be done to his remains. was agreed to; and, about nine o' clock, on the fol- ng morning there appeared a ſecond proceſſion. But, ing not having been any part of the ſentence, authori- ought fit to interpoſe, and the corpſe was reſcued by ivil power.

'e hear the body is not yet interred; which occaſions ' ſpeculations. But, what is more wonderful, it is po- ly affirmed by many who pretend to have been eye- eſſes, that there does not appear the leaſt altera- in any one lineament or feature of his countenance; viſible decay in his whole frame, further than what been made by worms long before his execution. The ion of which difficulty, I ſhall leave among naturaliſts.

Some

Some conſiderations on the attempts Mr WOOD'S BRASS MONEY in Irel

By a lover of his country.

IT is a melancholy conſideration, to ſee *the f ſolutions and addreſſes of both houſes of parl* Ireland, *during their late ſeſſion, the late addr Majeſty's juſtices and privy council of that king the petition of the county of the city of* Dublin; the unanimous ſenſe of this nation, and *the gr henſions they were under, from importing ana copper halfpence and farthings in* Ireland, *by the patent granted to* William Wood, have be ſented in the ſtrongeſt terms: I ſay, it is a m conſideration, to ſee the force of all theſe repre eluded by the petitions of a ſingle perſon, ſu Wood.

If juſtice ſtood on the ſide of this ſingle perſon to give good men pleaſure to ſee that right ſh place; but when, on the contrary, the common whole nation, the quieting the minds of a people with apprehenſion of the utmoſt danger to thei ties, nay, the preſervation of the purity of thei overborn by private intereſt, what good man bu ment ſuch an unhappy ſtate of affairs?

And ſince the matter was of this importance, ed to carry with it the teſtimony of heaven, in verſal cry of the people, how could any particu bers of a community, which had thus with one precated the evil, with any ſhew of reaſon t them the riſk of any miſcarriage in a trial, in nate court?

It was to our gracious Sovereign, that all theſ es and petitions were preſented: it was into hi hands the whole nation committed the care of th and it would have been the higheſt piece of arro

any perſon to have preſumed to take upon themſelves a ſhare in that truſt, which was only repoſed in his Majeſty's hands. It is no wonder therefore, *that every one was guarded with caution, againſt giving any advice or opinion in this matter of ſtate;* for which reaſon they ought to *apprehend great danger to themſelves from meddling in it.*

Though *this proceeding may ſeem extraordinary;* yet it being on a moſt extraordinary matter, on a matter of ſuch importance, as ſeemed to involve the civil rights and properties of a whole nation in the iſſue of it; on a matter wherein the Lords and Commons were complainants, and the King immediately concerned, not only as general father of his people, but alſo as particular and only truſtee, in whom his people repoſed entire confidence to redreſs the grievances complained of; was it not entirely reaſonable and fit, that every particular perſon of this kingdom ſhould *reſt* upon what was done by the whole body of the people duly aſſembled in parliament, and not arrogantly aſſume to themſelves a power of putting the fate of this nation to an iſſue before twelve men?

Since then it plainly appears, that this matter is of ſuch a high nature, that no particular perſon ought to have intermeddled in it; it is to be preſumed, that the non-appearance of perſons *to ſupport the united ſenſe of both houſes of parliament of* Ireland, can never be conſtrued as a general diffidence, of being able to *ſupport the charge brought againſt the patent and patentee:* though indeed it might proceed from a general and a very reaſonable *apprehenſion of a miſcarriage* in this important affair; *wherein both houſes of parliament had declared themſelves ſo fully convinced, and ſatisfied upon evidence, and examination taken in the moſt ſolemn manner*; that for my part, I (and ſo I hope every true lover of his country on his part) will look upon their reſolutions to have the ſame dignity (in this caſe) with a maxim in law, *quia maxima eſt eorum dignitas, et certiſſima authoritas, atque quod maxime omnibus probentur.*

And therefore I don't preſume to enter the liſts, in order to ſupport the reſolutions of both houſes of parliament; *for I look upon it,* that they are *ſo ſure and un-*

controllable, that they ought not to be queſtioned: I ſhall be the buſineſs of this paper, to point out ſon the miſchiefs which will naturally reſult from this age of Mr Wood's, in caſe it ſhould be forced upon

We are told, that the power of iſſuing this mon Mr Wood's is limited, *and without any compulſion, currency inforced, to be received by ſuch only as v voluntarily and wilfully accept the ſame.* But then melancholy to behold, that this patent is explained obligatory *on all his Majeſty's officers and miniſter* receive the ſame.

By this means there is a foundation laid for the mo heard-of confuſion that ever was introduced into the neſs of a nation; for here is eſtabliſhed a ſpecies of m made of the baſeſt metal, which none in employment der his Majeſty muſt refuſe in payments to the crown themſelves, and yet all the reſt of his ſubjects are at ty to refuſe the ſame in payments to be made to then ther by his Majeſty, or by any other perſon.

Thus the revenue of the crown will be *highly pre ced*, by the want of intrinſic value in the coin with it is paid; and the army and all others in employment der his Majeſty, are the perſons, who, in the firſt muſt bear the burthen of this miſchief. For if the the only perſons who are obliged to receive this cc current money, it is to be preſumed that no other pe will receive the ſame but with conſiderable allowanc the difference between the *braſs money*, and that ma gold and ſilver.

And even with a conſiderable allowance, it will be to conceive how this *braſs money*, will find any degr currency in the world, without the aſſiſtance of a men, who may probably raiſe great eſtates in this unf courſe of affairs; but ſuch a ſet of people ought nev be encouraged by a wiſe government, for they will heir fortunes by the loſſes of good ſubjects, and by ing on the revenue of the prince: and yet thoſe *buck* or *money-jobbers*, will be found neceſſary if this *braſ ney* is made current in the exchequer.

To ſhew in ſome meaſure the proportion of this mi to his Majeſty's revenue, and to thoſe in immediate

es under him; it muſt be conſidered, that the groſs reve-
ue of this kingdom is about 500,000 *l. per annum*; out
f which muſt be deducted the charge of collection and
rawbacks; which, to be ſure, the ſeveral collectors, and
hoſe who are to receive the drawbacks, will take care to
eceive in *Sterling* money; about 80,000 *l. per annum*;
nd there will remain for the diſcharge of the civil and
ilitary liſts, penſions, &c. 420,000 *l. per annum*, which
m, it is probable, iſſues out of the treaſury by monthly
yments of about 35,000 *l. per month*; for otherwiſe the
rrent caſh in this nation could not poſſibly pay the reve-
e, and ſerve to carry on even the little buſineſs of this
ntry. for it hath never been computed that our current
n amounts to more than 500,000 *l.* ſo that if 40,000 *l.*
Mr Wood's *braſs money* is thrown in upon us, (even
nitting that no more of this ſpecies ſhould be brought
, it is manifeſt that that ſum will be near one twelfth of
whole coin in the nation; and more than one month's
of the civil and military liſts, and penſions, *&c.* of this
gdom.

If this ſum ſhould ſtagnate in the treaſury, it is certain
re will be no greater loſs (immediately brought) by
coin to the revenue, than the money that there lies
d amounts to: but if it is iſſued in monthly payments
the army, and other his Majeſty's officers and mini-
s, as in all probability it muſt: then this coin, being
poſed of a baſe metal, current only in the exchequer,
ere it is received at an imaginary value, of at leaſt 60
cent. more than the real value of the material, it will
ſuddenly paid back again to the collectors, and by that
ins paſs through the treaſury, at leaſt three times in
ry year; for there we are told, it is to meet with *no*
or moleſtation.

And ſeeing the currency of this money is not inforced
any other of his Majeſty's ſubjects, it is eaſy to con-
ve, that the difference of value between this coin, and
gold and ſilver which will be current in the nation,
l be ſettled by the *money-jobbers*, at about 20 *per cent.*
count.

By which means alone, there will be loſt in the intrinſic
ue of the revenue *the* ſum of 24,000 *l.* *per ann.* with-

out computing for the loſſes which muſt neceſſarily brought to the revenue, by the general diffidence, the introducing this coin will create among the pe all which will be manifeſtly *deſtructive of the trade commerce of the kingdom, and of dangerous conſeq to the properties of the ſubject.*

And yet the evil has been here computed on a ſup tion that only 40,000*l.* of this money will be utter the kingdom; but I take it to be impoſſible to limi quantity that ſhall be brought in, eſpecially if the im ers of it have ſo ſure a market for the ſame as th chequer.

For though his Majeſty ſhould be able to preven Wood from coining any more than 40,000*l.* and ſ never hereafter be prevailed upon to grant *his ſpeci cence or authority* to enlarge that ſum, yet it wil impoſſible to prevent the importation of this ſort of from other nations. And there have been ſuch v of *dyes* made uſe of by Mr Wood in ſtamping his m that it makes the diſcovery of counterfeits more diffi and the profit is ſo great, that it will be a ſufficient t tation to our induſtrious neighbours of Holland to large quantities of this coin to ſo ſure a market a exchequer.

And perhaps it may be a queſtion among lawyers, ther a man can be puniſhed, at the King's ſuit, for terfeiting this coin, becauſe it is not the current co the kingdom; for though theſe halfpence are to b ceived as money in the exchequer, yet in trade the no better than counters, and therefore the patent perhaps be conſtrued to be no more than a grant *monopoly* to make thoſe counters.

But it is worth obſerving, that if this patent is ſo ed, as that his Majeſty's officers, employed in the r of his revenue, cannot refuſe receiving this coin, directly contrary to two acts of parliament now in fo this kingdom, and which are to be found in the boo rates diſtributed among the officers of the revenue.

For by the act of tonnage and poundage, 14 an Car. II. cap. 9. the duties thereby granted to his M *and his ſucceſſors*, are to be paid in lawful money of

ınd by the act of exciſe, or new impoſt, 14 and
II. cap. 8. it is expreſsly declared and enacted,
ſeveral rates and duties of excise, and all fines,
, forfeitures, or other ſum, or ſums of money
mpoſed, ſet, or forfeited, in and by this act,
t and intended to be current and lawful money
r of England, *and that all and every of the ſame,*
ore demanded, received, paid, and ſatisfied accor-

ſe acts it is manifeſt, that the collectors are obli-
eceive the ſeveral duties ariſing from the cuſtom
ſe, in no other money but ſuch as is current and
oney of England; and Mr Wood's halfpence and
not being current or lawful money in England,
kingdom, if this patent is obligatory on them to
ayments in this coin, it is contrary to acts of par-
and therefore void in itſelf

f the ſeveral collectors of his Majeſty's revenue in
dom ſhould receive the ſaid duties, or any part of
Mr Wood's *braſs money*, it would be aſſuming
elves a power to diſpenſe with thoſe acts of parlia-
ntrary to the ſenſe of both houſes of parliament,
trary to their reſpective oaths; ſo that it ſeems
aſonable, becauſe conſonant to law, that *the of-*
the revenue ſhould give orders to the inferior offi-
t to receive this coin.

ps it will be ſaid, that the King hath a power to
ıat coin he pleaſes to be received by the officers of
ıue, and that this patent is in conſequence of ſuch
ative. But it is to be hoped, that this doctrine
er be maintained, in favour of a coin, to which
le nation, as well in parliament aſſembled, as in
vate capacities, have ſhewed a general diſlike.
over, as this caſe ſtands circumſtanced, it is a great
, whether his Majeſty hath ſuch a diſpenſing power:
ıgh it ſhould be allowed, that his Majeſty might
he receipt of his own revenue in what coin he
yet it is moſt certain, that his Majeſty does
nd to inforce the currency of Wood's money a-
ıy of his ſubjects, much leſs doth his Majeſty in-
oblige thoſe who are intitled, by act of parliament,

to be paid in current money of England, to rec
money of Mr Wood's.

And it is plain, that, by the act of excise, ther
veral *fines*, *penalties*, and *forfeitures*, which, by
that act, are to be received in current money of
and to half those *fines*, *forfeitures*, and *penalties*
formers are intitled by virtue of the said act;
the officers should be obliged to receive them in *b*
ney, the informers must necessarily lose the bene
said act: and I may venture to say, that act cann
pealed but by another act, to be made by King
and Commons; and not by a patent.

All these things having been, among many o
weighty matters, laid before both houses of p
of Ireland; it is not to be wondered, that *they*
that the patent had been obtained in a clandestin
precedented manner, and by notorious misrepre
of the state of Ireland. For what can be more cl
than to obtain a patent with powers, not only *hi*
judicial to his Majesty's revenue, destructive of
and commerce of the kingdom, and of danger
quence to the properties of the subject, but also c
several acts of parliament? and that it was an unp
ed attempt, at least in this reign, will be readily
therefore all the representations made of the sta
land, in order to obtain this patent, may with g
be called *notorious misrepresentations*.

But it has been said, that his Majesty cannc
against the patentee, but according to the known
maxims of law and justice: and God forbid tha
of this kingdom should advise his Majesty to
dispense with any of our laws. No part of the
from the houses of parliament of Ireland has
tendency this way.

For though the house of Commons, in their
dress to his Majesty, *most humbly beseech his M*
he will be graciously pleased to give directions to
ral officers intrusted with the receipt of his Ma
venue, that they do not, on any pretence whatso
ter such halfpence and farthings: yet, if his
had been graciously pleased to have given orde

ling to this humble addreſs of his people of Ireland; it is humbly conceived that this would have been only an affirmance of the law of the land, as hath been ſaid, and not any way contrary to law.

For though his Majeſty, by *his patent under the great ſeal of* Great Britain, *wills, requires, and commands his lieutenant, deputy, or other chief governor or governors of his kingdom of* Ireland, *and all other officers and miniſters of his Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors in* England, Ireland, *or elſewhere, to be aiding and aſſiſting to the ſaid* William Wood, *his executors, &c. in the execution of all or any the powers, authorities, directions, matters, or things to be executed by him or them, or for his or their benefit or advantage, by virtue. and in purſuance of the ſaid indentures*; yet it is *in all things as becometh, &c.* And this is to be expounded by the known laws of the land, and by other parts of the ſaid patent, whereby it is manifeſt that his Majeſty never intended *to inforce the currency of this money, to be received by any perſon, that would not voluntarily and wilfully accept the ſame.*

Therefore, ſince the people have ſhewed a general diſlike of this coin, it is to be hoped, that ſome method will be found out to eaſe their minds from the diſtraction they are under on this occaſion.

A ſhort VIEW of the State of IRELAND.

Written in the year 1727.

I AM aſſured, that it hath for ſome time been practiſed as a method of making mens court, when they are aſked about the rate of lands, the abilities of tenants, the ſtate of trade and manufacture in this kingdom, and how their rents are paid, to anſwer, that in their neighbourhood all things are in a flouriſhing condition, the rent and purchaſe of land every day increaſing. And if a gentleman happen to be a little more ſincere in his repreſentations; beſides being looked on as not well affected, he is ſure to have a dozen contradictors at his elbow. I think it is no manner of ſecret, why theſe queſtions are ſo *cordially* aſked, or ſo *obligingly* anſwered.

But ſince, with regard to the affairs of this kingdom, I have been uſing all endeavours to ſubdue my indignation; to which indeed I am not provoked by any perſonal intereſt, not being the owner of one ſpot of ground in the whole *Iſland*; I ſhall only enumerate by rules generally known, and never contradicted, what are the true cauſes of any country's flouriſhing and growing rich; and then examine what effects ariſe from thoſe cauſes in the kingdom of Ireland.

The firſt cauſe of a kingdom's thriving is, the fruitfulneſs of the ſoil to produce the neceſſaries and conveniencies of life; not only ſufficient for the inhabitants, but for exportation into other countries.

The ſecond is, the induſtry of the people, in working up all their native commodities to the laſt degree of manufacture.

The third is, the conveniency of ſafe ports and havens to carry out their own goods as much manufactured, and bring in thoſe of others as little manufactured, as the nature of mutual commerce will allow.

The fourth is, that the natives ſhould, as much as poſſible

ible, export and import their goods in veſſels of their
timber, made in their own country.
The fifth is, the privilege of a free trade in all foreign
tries, which will permit them, except thoſe who are
ar with their own prince or ſtate.
The ſixth is, by being governed only by laws made with
own conſent; for otherwiſe they are not a free peo-
And therefore all appeals for juſtice, or applications
avour or preferment, to another country, are ſo many
ous impoveriſhments.
The ſeventh is, by improvement of land, encouragement
griculture, and thereby increaſing the number of their
le; without which any country, however bleſſed by
re, muſt continue poor.
The eighth is, the reſidence of the prince, or chief ad-
ſtrator of the civil power
The ninth is, the concourſe of foreigners for educa-
curioſity, or pleaſure; or as to a general mart of
.
The tenth is, by diſpoſing all offices of honour, profit,
aſt only to the natives; or at leaſt with very few ex-
ons, where ſtrangers have long inhabited the country,
ure ſuppoſed to underſtand and regard the intereſt of
their own.
The eleventh is, when the rents of lands, and profits
mployments, are ſpent in the country which produ-
them, and not in another; the former of which will
inly happen, where the love of our native country
ails.
The twelfth is, by the public revenues being all ſpent
employed at home, except on the occaſions of a fo-
war.
The thirteenth is, where the people are not obliged, un-
they find it for their own intereſt or conveniency, to
ive any monies, except of their own coinage by a pu-
mint after the manner of all civilized nations.
The fourteenth is, a diſpoſition of the people of a coun-
to wear their own manufactures, and import as few in-
nents to luxury, either in cloaths, furniture, food, or
k, as they poſſibly can live conveniently without.
There are many other cauſes of a nation's thriving,

which

which I at preſent cannot recollect: but without advan
from at leaſt ſome of theſe, after turning my thou
a long time, I am not able to diſcover from whence
wealth proceeds, and therefore would gladly be better
formed. In the mean time I will here examine, w
ſhare falls to Ireland of theſe cauſes, or of the effects
conſequences.

It is not my intention to complain, but barely to re
facts; and the matter is not of ſmall importance. Fo
is allowed, that a man who lives in a ſolitary houſe,
from help, is not wiſe in endeavouring to acquire in
neighbourhood the reputation of being rich; becauſe th
who come for gold, will go off with pewter and br
rather than return empty: and in the common practic
the world, thoſe who poſſeſs moſt wealth, make the l
parade; which they leave to others, who have not
elſe to bear them out in ſhewing their faces on the
change.

As to the firſt cauſe of a nation's riches, being
fertility of the ſoil, as well as temperature of climate,
have no reaſon to complain: for, although the quan
of unprofitable land in this kingdom, reckoning bog,
rock, and barren mountain, be double in proportion
what it is in England; yet the native productions, w
both kingdoms deal in, are very near an equality in p
of goodneſs, and might with the ſame encouragemen
as well manufactured. I except mines and minerals
ſome of which however we are only defective in poin
ſkill and induſtry.

In the ſecond, which is the induſtry of the people,
misfortune is not altogether owing to our own fault, bu
a million of diſcouragements.

The conveniency of ports and havens, which na
hath beſtowed ſo liberally on this kingdom, is of no m
uſe to us, than a beautiful proſpect to a man ſhut up
dungeon.

As to ſhipping of its own, Ireland is ſo utterly un
vided, that, of all the excellent timber cut down wi
theſe fifty or ſixty years, it can hardly be ſaid, that
nation hath received the benefit of one valuable houſe
dwell in, or one ſhip to trade with.

land is the only kingdom I ever heard or read of,
in ancient or modern ſtory, which was denied the
y of exporting their native commodities and manufac-
where-ever they pleaſed, except to countries at war
heir own prince or ſtate: yet this privilege, by the
ority of mere power, is refuſed us in the moſt mo-
us parts of commerce; beſides an act of navigation,
ich we never conſented, pinned down upon us, and
ully executed; and a thouſand other unexampled
nſtances, as grievous as they are invidious to mention.
o on to the reſt:

is too well known, that we are forced to obey ſome
we never conſented to; which is a condition I muſt
ll by its true uncontroverted name for fear of Lord
Juſtice Whitſhed's ghoſt, with his *libertas et natale* *, written for a motto on his coach, as it ſtood at
oor of the court, while he was perjuring himſelf to
y both. Thus we are in the condition of patients,
ave phyſic ſent them by doctors at a diſtance, ſtran-
o their conſtitution and the nature of their diſeaſe:
us we are forced to pay five hundred *per cent.* to
e our properties: in all which we have likewiſe the
ir to be diſtinguiſhed from the whole race of man-

to the improvement of land; thoſe few who attempt
or planting, through covetouſneſs or want of ſkill
ally leave things worſe than they were; neither ſuc-
ng in trees nor hedges; and by running into the fancy
azing, after the manner of the Scythians, are every
depopulating the country.

e are ſo far from having a king to reſide among us,
even the viceroy is generally abſent four fifths of his
in the government.

ſtrangers from other countries make this a part of
travels; where they can expect to ſee nothing but
s of miſery and deſolation.

oſe who have the misfortune to be bo n here, have
aſt title to any conſiderable employment; to which

* *Liberty and my native country.*

they

they are ſeldom preferred, but upon a politic ration.

One third part of the rents of Ireland is ſp land; which, with the profit of employment appeals, journeys of pleaſure or health, educa *inns* of court and both univerſities, remittanc ſure, the pay of all ſuperior officers in the army incidents, will amount to a full half of the inc whole kingdom, all clear profit to England.

We are denied the liberty of coining gold even copper. In the iſle of Man they coin *ſilver*; every petty prince, vaſſal to the *em* coin what money he pleaſeth. And in this, a the articles already mentioned, we are an exc other ſtates or monarchies that were ever kn world.

As to the laſt, or fourteenth article, we take to act diametrically contrary to it in the whole c lives. Both ſexes, but eſpecially the women, abhor to wear any of their own manufactures, which are better made than in other countries; a ſort of ſilk plaid, through which the workmen to run a kind of gold thread that it may paſs Even ale and potatoes are imported from Engla as corn; and our foreign trade is little more th tion of French wine, for which I am told we money.

Now, if all this be true, (upon which I coul large), I would be glad to know, by what ſec it is, that we grow a rich and flouriſhing peo *liberty, trade, manufactures, inhabitants, m privilege of coining*; without *induſtry, labour, ment of land*; and with more than half the re fits of the whole *kingdom* annually exported, we receive not a ſingle farthing: and to make nothing worth mentioning, except the linen of a trade caſual, corrupted, and at mercy; and from Cork. If we do flouriſh, it muſt be ag law of nature and reaſon; like the thorn at G that bloſſoms in the midſt of winter.

Let the worthy *commiſſioners*, who come

ride round the kingdom, and obſerve the face of
, or the face of the natives; the improvement of
nd; the thriving numerous plantations; the noble
; the abundance and vicinity of country-ſeats; the
odious farmers houſes and barns; the towns and
s, where every body is buſy, and thriving with all
f manufactures; the ſhops full of goods wrought
fection, and filled with cuſtomers; the comfortable
nd dreſs, and dwellings of the people; the vaſt num-
f ſhips in our harbours and docks, and ſhip-wrights
ſea-port towns; the roads crouded with carriers,
with rich manufactures; the perpetual concourſe to
of pompous equipages.
th what envy and admiration would thoſe gentle-
turn from ſo delightful a progreſs? what glorious
would they make, when they went back to Eng-

my heart is too heavy to continue this irony longer;
is manifeſt, that whatever ſtranger took ſuch a
y, would be apt to think himſelf travelling in Lap-
r Iceland, rather than in a country ſo favoured by
as ours, both in fruitfulneſs of ſoil, and tempera-
climate. The miſerable dreſs, and diet, and dwell-
the people; the general deſolation in moſt parts
kingdom; the old ſeats of the nobility and gen-
in ruins, and no new ones in their ſtead; the fa-
of farmers, who pay great rents, living in filth
ſtineſs upon buttermilk and potatoes, without a
ſtocking to their feet, or a houſe ſo convenient as
liſh hog-ſty to receive them. Theſe indeed may
fortable ſights to an Engliſh ſpectator; who comes
hort time, only *to learn the language*, and returns
his own country, whither he finds all our wealth
tted.

Noſtra miſeria magna eſt.

re is not one argument uſed to prove the riches of
, which is not a logical demonſtration of its pover-
he riſe of our rents is ſqueezed out of the very
and vitals, and cloaths, and dwellings of the te-

nants, who live worſe than Engliſh beggars. The lo neſs of intereſt, in all other countries a ſign of wealth, in us a proof of miſery; there being no trade to empl any borrower. Hence alone comes the dearneſs of ha ſince the ſavers have no other way to lay out their m ney: hence the dearneſs of neceſſaries for life: becau the tenants cannot afford to pay ſuch extravagant ra for land, (which they muſt take or go a-begging), wit out raiſing the price of cattle, and of corn, although then ſelves ſhould live upon chaff. Hence our increaſe buildings in this city; becauſe workmen have nothing do but to employ one another, and one half of them a infallibly undone. Hence the daily increaſe of *banke* who may be a neceſſary evil in a trading-country, but ruinous in ours; who for their private advantage ha ſent away all our ſilver, and one third of our gold; that within three years paſt the running caſh of the natio which was about five hundred thouſand pounds, is n leſs than two, and muſt daily diminiſh, unleſs we have berty to coin, as well as that important kingdom, the i of Man, and the meaneſt principality in the German e pire, as I before obſerved.

I have ſometimes thought, that this paradox of t kingdom growing rich is chiefly owing to thoſe worth gentlemen the BANKERS; who, except ſome cuſto houſe-officers, birds of paſſage, oppreſſive thrifty 'ſquir and a few others who ſhall be nameleſs, are the only th ving people among us: and I have often wiſhed, that a l were enacted to hang up half a dozen *bankers* every ye and thereby interpoſe at leaſt ſome ſhort delay to the fi ther ruin of Ireland.

Ye are idle, ye are idle, anſwered Pharaoh to the Iſra ites, when they complained to *his Majeſty*, that they we forced to make bricks without ſtraw.

England enjoys every one of thoſe advantages for e riching a nation, which I have above enumerated; and i to the bargain, a good million returned to them every ye without labour or hazard, or one farthing value receiv on our ſide: but how long we ſhall be able to continue t payment, I am not under the leaſt concern. One thing

kno

know, that *when the hen is ſtarved to death, there will be no more golden eggs.*

I think it a little unhoſpitable, and others may call it a ſubtile piece of malice, that becauſe there may be a dozen families in this town able to entertain their Engliſh friends in a generous manner at their tables, their gueſts, upon their return to England, ſhall report, that we wallow in riches and luxury.

Yet, I confeſs, I have known an hoſpital, where all the houſehold officers grew rich; while the poor, for whoſe ſake it was built, were almoſt ſtarving for want of food and raiment.

To conclude, if Ireland be a rich and flouriſhing kingdom, its wealth and proſperity muſt be owing to certain cauſes, that are yet concealed from the whole race of mankind; and the effects are equally inviſible. We need not wonder at ſtrangers, when they deliver ſuch paradoxes; but a native and inhabitant of this kingdom, who gives the ſame verdict, muſt be either ignorant to ſtupidity, or a man-pleaſer at the expenſe of all honour, conſcience, and truth *.

* The preſent ſtate of Ireland † is, in general, as flouriſhing as poſſible. Agriculture is cultivated: arts and ſciences are encouraged: and in the ſpace of eighteen years, which is almoſt the full time that I have known it, no kingdom can be more improved. Ireland, in relation to England, may be compared to a younger ſiſter lately come of age, after having ſuffered all the miſeries of an injured minor, ſuch as law-ſuits, incroachments upon her property, violation of her rights, deſtruction of her tenants, and every evil that can be named. At length, time, and her own noble ſpirit of induſtry, have entirely relieved her, and, ſome little heartburnings excepted, ſhe enjoys the quiet poſſeſſion of a very ample fortune, ſubject, by way of acknowledgment, to certain quit-rents, payable to the elder branch of her houſe. *Take her all in all*, ſhe cannot have a greater fortune than ſhe deſerves. *Orrery.*

† 1752.

An Answer to a paper, called, *A of the poor inhabitants, tradeſmen, a ers of the kingdom of Ireland.*

Written in the year 1728.

I Received a *paper* from you, whoever you ed without any name of author or printer I ſuppoſe, to me among others without an diſtinction. It contains a complaint of the corn; and ſome ſchemes for making it cheap cannot approve of.

But pray permit me, before I go further, a ſhort hiſtory of the ſteps by which we are hopeful ſituation.

It was indeed the ſhameful practice of too farmers to wear out their ground with plough either through poverty, lazineſs, or ignorance, took care to manure it as they ought, nor gave part of the land to recover itſelf; and when are near expiring, being aſſured that their land not renew, they ploughed even the meadow ſuch havock, that many landlords were conſid ers by it *.

This gave birth to that abominable race who upon expiration of the farmers leaſes w ingroſs great quantities of land; and the g

ſily managed by one or two herdſmen and their boys; hereby the maſter-graſier with little trouble ſeized to mſelf the livelihood of a hundred people.

It muſt be confeſſed, that the farmers were juſtly puſhed for their *knavery*, *brutality*, and *folly*. But neier are the *ſquires* and *landlords* to be excuſed; for to em is owing the depopulating of the country, the vaſt mber of *beggars*, and the ruin of thoſe few ſorry imovements we had.

That *farmers* ſhould be limited in ploughing, is very aſonable, and practiſed in England; and might have eay been done here by penal clauſes in their leaſes: but toprive them in a manner altogether from tilling their lands, as a moſt ſtupid want of thinking.

Had the *farmers* been confined to plough a certain quanty of land, with a penalty of ten pounds an acre for whatver they exceeded, and farther limited for the three or four ſt years of their leaſes, all this evil had been prevented; ie nation would have ſaved a *million of money*; and been ore populous by above *two hundred thouſand ſouls*.

For a people denied the benefit of *trade*, to manage eir lands in ſuch a manner as to produce nothing, but hat they are forbidden to trade with, or only ſuch things they can neither export nor manufacture to advantage, an abſurdity that a *wild* Indian would be aſhamed of; pecially when we add, that we are content to purchaſe is hopeful commerce by ſending to foreign markets for ur daily bread.

The *grazier*'s employment is to feed great flocks of eep, or, *black cattle*, or both. With regard to *ſheep*, folly is uſually accompanied with perverſeneſs, ſo it is ere. There is ſomething ſo monſtrous to deal in a comodity (further than for our own uſe) which we are not lowed to export manufactured, nor even unmanufactud, but to *one certain country*, and only to ſome *few* ports that country; there is, I ſay, ſomething ſo ſottiſh, that wants a name in our language to expreſs it by: and the ood of it is, that the more *ſheep* we have, the fewer huan creatures are left to wear the *wool*, or eat the *fleſh*. jax was mad, when he miſtook a flock of *ſheep* for his

that want will daily grow stronger: for, I doubt, t
project of *tanning* without it is at an end. Our
am afraid, still continues scandalous in foreign mar
the old reasons. But our *tallow*, for any thing I
may be good. However, to bestow the whole k
on *beef* and *mutton*, and thereby drive out half the
who should eat their share, and force the rest to fen
times as far as Egypt for bread to eat with it, is
peculiar and distinguished piece of public œcon
which I have no comprehension.

I know very well that our ancestors the Scythia
their posterity our kinsmen the Tartars, lived u
blood, and milk, and raw flesh of their cattle, with
grain of *corn*; but I confess myself so degenerate
am not easy without *bread* to my victuals.

What amazed me for a week or two, was to
this prodigious plenty of *cattle*, and dearth of *hum*
tures, and want of *bread*, as well as *money* to buy
all kind of *flesh-meat* should be monstrously dear,
what was ever known in this kingdom. I thought
fect in the laws, that there was not some regulatic
price of *flesh*, as well as *bread*: but I imagine n
have guessed out the reason: in short, I am apt t
that the whole kingdom is overstocked with *catt*
black and *white*: and as it is observed, that the pc

or *labour*, to *purchaſe* that *money*, are indeed wholly wanting.

Now, Sir, to return more particularly to you, and your memorial.

A hundred thouſand barrels of *wheat*, you ſay, ſhould be imported hither; and ten thouſand pounds *præmium* to the importers. Have you looked into the purſe of the nation; I am no commiſſioner of the treaſury; but am well aſſured, that the whole running *caſh* would not ſupply you with a ſum to purchaſe ſo much *corn*, which, only at twenty ſhillings a-barrel, will be a hundred thouſand pounds; and ten thouſand more for the *præmium*. But you will traffic for your *corn* with other goods: and where are thoſe goods? If you had them, they are all engaged to pay the rents of *abſentees*, and other occaſions in London, beſides a huge balance of trade this year againſt us. Will foreigners take our bankers paper? I ſuppoſe, they will value it at little more than ſo much a quire. Where are theſe *rich farmers* and *ingroſſers of corn*, in ſo bad a year, and ſo little ſowing?

You are in pain for two ſhillings *præmium*, and forget the twenty ſhillings for the price; find me out the latter, and I will engage for the former.

Your ſcheme for a tax for raiſing ſuch a ſum is all viſionary, and owing to a great want of knowledge in the *miſerable ſtate* of this nation. *Tea, coffee, ſugar, ſpices, wine*, and *foreign cloaths*, are the particulars you mention, upon which this tax ſhould be raiſed. I will allow the two firſt; becauſe they are unwholeſome; and the laſt, becauſe I ſhould be glad if they were all burned; but I beg you will leave us our wine to make us a while forget our miſery; or give your tenants leave to plough for *barley*. But I will tell you a *ſecret*, which I learned many years ago from the commiſſioners of the *cuſtoms* in London: they ſaid, when any *commodity* appeared to be taxed above a *moderat rate*, the conſequence was to leſſen that branch of the revenue by one half; and one of thoſe gentlemen pleaſantly told me, that the miſtake of parliaments on ſuch occaſions was owing to an error of computing two and two to make four; whereas in the buſineſs of laying *heavy impoſitions* two and two never made more than one; which happens

by leſſening the import, and the ſtrong temptation of
ſuch goods as paid high duties, at leaſt in this k
Although the women are as vain and extravagant
lovers or their huſbands can deſerve, and the men
enough of wine, yet the number of both who ca
ſuch expenſes, is ſo ſmall, that the major part mu
gratifying themſelves, and the duties will rather be
than increaſed. But, allowing no force in this ar
yet ſo preternatural a ſum, as one hundred and t
ſand pounds, raiſed all on a ſudden, (for there is
ing with hunger), is juſt in proportion with raiſing
and a half in England; which, as things now ſtand
probably bring that opulent kingdom under ſome
ties.

You are concerned how ſtrange and ſurpriſing i
be in foreign parts to hear, that the poor were ſta
a RICH country, *&c.* Are you in earneſt? is Irel
rich country you mean? or are you inſulting our
were you ever out of Ireland? or were you ever i
of late? you may probably have a good employme
are ſaving all you can to purchaſe a good eſtate in E
But by talking ſo familiarly of one hundred and ten t
pounds by a *tax* upon a few *commodities*, it is pl
are either naturally or affectedly ignorant of our
condition; or elſe you would know and allow, tha
ſum is not to be raiſed here, without a *general exciſ*
in proportion to our wealth, we pay already in *tax*
than England ever did in the height of the war.
when you have brought over your corn, who wil
buyers? Moſt certainly, not the poor, who will no
to purchaſe the twentieth part of it.

Sir, upon the whole, your paper is a very crud
liable to more objections than there are lines; but,
your meaning is good, and ſo far you are pardonab

If you will propoſe a general contribution for ſu
the poor in *potatoes* and *buttermilk*, till the new cor
in, perhaps you may ſucceed better; becauſe the
leaſt is poſſible: and I think if our brethren in
would contribute upon this emergency, out of the
they gain from us every year, they would do a piec
ſtice as well as *charity*. In the mean time go and

to your own tenants to fall to the plough as faſt as they can; and prevail with your neighbouring 'ſquires to do the ſame with theirs; or elſe die with the guilt of having driven away half the inhabitants, and ſtarving the reſt. For as to your ſcheme of raiſing *one hundred and ten thouſand pounds*, it is as vain as that of Rabelais; which was to ſqueeze out wind from the poſteriors of a dead aſs.

But why all this concern for the poor? We want them not as the country is now managed; they may follow thouſands of their leaders, and ſeek their bread abroad. Where the plough has no work, one family can do the buſineſs of fifty, and you may ſend away the other forty-nine. An admirable piece of huſbandry, never known or practiſed by the wiſeſt nations, who erroneouſly thought people to be the riches of a country.

If ſo wretched a ſtate of things would allow it, methinks I could have a malicous pleaſure, after all the warning I have in vain given the public at my own peril for ſeveral years paſt, to ſee the conſequences and events anſwering in every particular. I pretend to no ſagacity: what I write was little more than what I had diſcourſed to ſeveral perſons, who were generally of my opinion: and it was obvious to every common underſtanding, that ſuch effects muſt needs follow from ſuch cauſes. A fair iſſue of things begun upon party-rage, while ſome ſacrificed the public to fury, and others to ambition: while a ſpirit of faction and oppreſſion reigned in every part of the country, where gentlemen, inſtead of conſulting the eaſe of their tenants or cultivating their lands, were worrying one another upon points of *Whig* and *Tory*, of *high church* and *low church*; which no more concerned them, than the long and famous controverſy of *ſtrops for razors* *: while *agriculture* was wholly diſcouraged, and conſequently half the farmers, and labourers, and poorer tradeſmen, forced to beggary or baniſhment: *Wiſdom crieth in the ſtreets; becauſe I have called on you; I have ſtretched out my hand, and no man regarded. But ye have ſet at nought all my counſels, and*

* A piece of leather paſted on wood to be uſed with a certain powder, for the property and excellence of which ſeveral competitors eagerly contended. *Hawkeſ.*

would

would none of my reproof. I alſo will laugh at y
nity, and mock when your fear cometh.

I have now done with your memorial, and freel
your miſtakes, ſince you appear to write as a ſtra
as of a country which is left at liberty to enjoy
fits of nature, and to make the beſt of thoſe a
which God hath given it in ſoil, climate, and ſitua

But having lately ſent out a paper, intitled, *A ſ*
of the ſtate of Ireland; and hearing of an obje
ſome people think I have treated the memory of
Lord Chief Juſtice Whitſhed with an appearance
ty: ſince I may not probably have another oppor
explaining myſelf in that particular, I chuſe to d
laying it therefore down for a *poſtulatum*, which
will be univerſally granted, that no *little creat*
mean a birth and genius had ever the *honour* to be
er enemy to his country, and to all kinds of virtue
I anſwer thus: Whether there be two different
called *Fame*, as ſome authors contend, or only on
ſounding two different trumpets, it is certain, th
diſtinguiſhed for their *villany* have as good a
blaſt from the *proper trumpet*, as thoſe who are
nowned for their *virtues* have from the other;
equal reaſon to complain if it be refuſed them. A
dingly the names of the moſt *celebrated profligs*
been faithfully tranſmitted down to poſterity.
though the perſon here underſtood acted his part
ſcure corner of the world; yet his talents might h
with luſtre enough in the nobleſt ſcene.

As to my naming a perſon dead, the plain h
ſon is the beſt. He was armed with power and
miſchief, even where he was not provoked, as app
his proſecuting two printers, one to death, and

bonum; ſo that if Socrates, and Anytus his accuſer *, had happened to die together, the charity of ſurvivors muſt either have obliged them to hold their peace, or to fix the ſame character on both. The only crime of charging the dead is, when the leaſt doubt remains whether the accuſation be true; but when men are openly abandoned, and loſt to all ſhame, they have no reaſon to think it hard if their memory be reproached. Whoever reports, or otherwiſe publiſheth any thing, which it is poſſible may be falſe, that man is a ſlanderer; *hic niger eſt, hunc tu, Romane, caveto.* Even the leaſt miſrepreſentation, or aggravation of facts, deſerves the ſame cenſure in ſome degree: but in this caſe I am quite deceived, if my error hath not been on the ſide of extenuation.

I have now preſent before me the idea of ſome perſons (I know not in what part of the world) who ſpend every moment of their lives, and every turn of their thoughts while they are awake, (and probably of their dreams while they ſleep), in the moſt deteſtable actions and deſigns; who delight in *miſchief*, *ſcandal*, and *obloquy*, with the *hatred* and *contempt* of all mankind againſt them; but chiefly of thoſe among their own party, and their own family; ſuch, whoſe *odious qualities* rival each other for perfection; *avarice*, *brutality*, *faction*, *pride*, *malice*, *treachery*, *miſe*, *impudence*, *dulneſs*, *ignorance*, *vanity*, and *revenge*, contending every moment for ſuperiority in their breaſts. Such creatures are not to be reformed; neither is it prudent or ſafe to attempt a reformation. Yet, although their memories will *rot*, there may be ſome benefit for their ſurvivors, to ſmell it while it is *rotting*.

I am, SIR,

your humble ſervant,

Dublin, March 25,
1728. A. B.

* Anytus one of the wretches who accuſed Socrates of contemning the gods, and endeavouring to ſubvert the religion of his country. *Hawkeſ.*

A VINDICATION of his Excellenc Lord CARTERET, from the charge o ing none but *Tories*, *Highchurchm Jacobites* *.

Written in the year 1730.

IN order to treat this important ſubject with th fairneſs and impartiality, perhaps it may be c to give ſome account of his *Excellency*; in whoſ character there are certain particulars, which mi very juſt ſuſpicion of ſome truth in the accuſati under.

He is deſcended from two noble, ancient, and al families, the Carterets, and the Granvilles : diſtinguiſhed, I confeſs, for what they acted, they ſuffered in defending the former conſtitution and ſtate under King Charles the Martyr; I mea ry prince, on account of whoſe martyrdom *a prayer, with faſting, was injoined by act of pa to be uſed on the 30th day of* January *every yea plore the mercies of God, that the guilt of that ſ*

* The view of this piece ſeems to be to recommend m and laugh political bigotry out of countenance. *Hawk*

In this piece the fallings of the Noble Lord, ariſing fro judices of great talents and a learned education, are fin ed with infinite wit and humour. However, indeed touched here abundance of ſatire. *Piſtorides*, that po buſtling mortal, he treats with all imaginable contempt : ſatire againſt *Traulus* he ſpares not to draw blood at eve the former part of which is bitterly ſarcaſtic, and th bitterly ironical. His account of *Ageſilaus* being caugh *parſon of the pariſh* riding on a hobby-horſe with his chil ſome other touches of the like ſort, are truly diverting.

ocent blood might not be viſited on us or our poſterity: *re* may read at large in our *common prayer books*; which hath been ſolemnly kept, even within the memory of ıy men now alive.

His Excellency the preſent Lord was educated in the u-rſity of Oxford; from whence, with a ſingularity ce to be juſtified, he carried away more Greek, Latin, *philoſophy*, than properly became a perſon of his rank; ed much more of each than moſt of thoſe who are for-to live by their learning will be at the unneceſſary pains oad their heads with.

This was the rock he ſplit on upon his firſt appearance he world, and having juſt got clear of his guardians. as ſoon as he came to town, ſome biſhops and clergy-, and other perſons moſt eminent for learning and parts, him among them; from whom although he were for-ıtely dragged by a lady and the court, yet he could r wipe off the ſtain, nor waſh out the tincture of his erſity acquirements and diſpoſitions.

To this another misfortune was added, that it pleaſed l to endow him with great natural talents, memory, ment, comprehenſion, eloquence, and wit: and, to h the work, all theſe were fortified even in his youth ı the advantages received by ſuch employments as are fitted both to exerciſe and poliſh the gifts of nature education, having been ambaſſador in ſeveral courts, n his age would hardly allow him to take a degree; made principal ſecretary of ſtate at a period, when, ording to cuſtom, he ought to have been buſied in lo-his money at a chocolate-houſe; or in other amuſe-ıts equally laudable and epidemic among perſons of ho-r.

cannot omit another weak ſide in his Excellency. For known, and can be proved upon him, that Greek and n books might be found every day in his dreſſing-room, : were carefully ſearched; and there is reaſon to ſu-t, that ſome of the ſaid books have been privately con-d to him by *Tory* hands. I am likewiſe aſſured, that ıath been taken in the very fact of reading the ſaid ıy even in the midſt of a ſeſſion, to the great neglect ublic affairs.

I own, there may be ſome grounds for this charge; cauſe I have it from good hands, that when his Exce cy is at dinner with one or two ſcholars at his elbow grows a moſt unſupportable and unintelligible comp to all the fine gentlemen round the table.

I cannot deny, that his Excellency lies under an very great diſadvantage. For with all the accompliſhn above mentioned, adding that of a moſt comely and g ful perſon, and during the prime of youth, ſpirits, an gour, he hath in a moſt unexemplary manner led a r lar domeſtic life; diſcovers a great eſteem, and friend and love for his lady, as well as true affection for his dren; and when he is diſpoſed to admit an entertaini vening companion, he doth not always enough re whether the perſon may poſſibly in former days have under the imputation of a *Tory*; nor at ſuch times d natural or *affected* fears of *Popery* and the *pretender* r any part of the converſation: I preſume, becauſe ne Homer, Plato, Ariſtotle, or Cicero, have made any r tion of them.

Theſe I freely acknowledge to be his Excellency's ings; yet I think it is agreed by philoſophers and div that ſome allowance ought to be given to human infirm and to the prejudices of a wrong education.

I am well aware, how much my ſentiments differ f the *orthodox* opinions of one or two principal patriots the head of whom I name with honour Piſtorides. theſe have decided the matter directly againſt me by d ring, that no perſon, who was ever known to lie under ſuſpicion of one ſingle *Tory* principle, or who had once ſeen at a great man's levee in the *worſt of time* ſhould be allowed to come within the verge of the ca much leſs to bow in the anti-chamber, appear at the *ſemblies*, or dance at a birth-night. However, I dare ſert, that this maxim hath been often controlled; and t on the contrary, a conſiderable number of early penit have been received into grace, who are now an *ornam happineſs*, and *ſupport to the nation*.

* ne three laſt years of Queen Anne, when Lord Ox was miniſter, were ſo called by the Whigs. Hawk.

Nor

Neither do I find any murmuring on ſome other points of greater importance, where this favourite maxim is not ſo ſtrictly obſerved.

To inſtance only in one: I have not heard, that any care hath hitherto been taken to diſcover whether Madam * Violante be a *Whig* or *Tory* in her principles; or even that ſhe hath ever been *offered the oaths to the government*: on the contrary, I am told, that ſhe openly profeſſeth herſelf to be a *high-flier*; and it is not improbable by her outlandiſh name, ſhe may alſo be a *Papiſt* in her heart; yet we ſee this illuſtrious and dangerous female openly careſſed by principal perſons of both parties; who contribute to ſupport her in a ſplendid manner, without the leaſt apprehenſions from a *grand jury*, or even from 'Squire Hartley Hutcheſon himſelf, that *zealous proſecutor of hawkers and libels*. And, as Hobbes wiſely obſerves, *ſo much money* being equivalent to *ſo much power*, it may deſerve conſidering, with what ſafety ſuch an inſtrument of *power* ought to be truſted in the hands of an *alien*, who hath not given any legal ſecurity for her good affection to the government.

I confeſs, there is one evil which I could wiſh our friends would think proper to redreſs. There are many *Whigs* in this kingdom of the *old faſhioned ſtamp*, of whom we might make very good uſe; they bear the ſame loyalty with us to the Hanoverian family in the perſon of K. George II. the ſame abhorrence of the pretender, with the conſequences of *Popery* and *ſlavery*, and the ſame indulgence to *tender conſciences*: but having nothing to aſk for themſelves, and therefore the more leiſure to think for the public, they are often apt to entertain fears and melancholy proſpects concerning the ſtate of their country, the decay of trade, the want of money, the miſerable condition of the people, with other topics of the like nature; all which do equally concern both *Whig* and *Tory*; who, if they have any thing to loſe, muſt be equally ſufferers. Perhaps, one or two of theſe melancholy gentlemen will ſometimes venture to publiſh their thoughts in print: now, I can by no means approve our uſual cuſtom of curſing and railing at

* A famous Italian rope dancer. Hawkeſ.

this ſpecies of thinkers, under the names of *Tories*, *Jacobites*, *Papiſts*, *libellers*, *rebels*, and the like.

This was the utter ruin of that poor, angry, buſtling, well-meaning mortal Piſtorides; who lies equally under the contempt of both parties; with no other difference, than a mixture of *pity* on one ſide, and of *averſion* on the other.

How hath he been pelted, peſtered, and pounded by one ſingle wag, who promiſeth never to forſake him, living or dead?

I was much pleaſed with the humour of a *ſurgeon* in this town; who having, in his own apprehenſion, received ſome great injuſtice from the Earl of Galway, and deſpairing of revenge as well as relief, declared to all his friends that he had ſet apart one hundred guineas to purchaſe the Earl's carcaſe from the ſexton, whenever *it* ſhould die, to make a ſkeleton of the bones, ſtuff the hide, and ſhew them for three pence; and thus get vengeance for the injuries he had ſuffered by its owner.

Of the like ſpirit too often is that implacable race of wits; againſt whom there is no defence but innocence and philoſophy: neither of which is likely to be at hand; and therefore the wounded have no where to fly for a cure but to downright ſtupidity, a crazed head, or a profligate contempt of guilt and ſhame.

I am therefore ſorry for that other miſerable creature Traulus; who, although of ſomewhat a different ſpecies, yet ſeems very far to outdo even the genius of Piſtorides in that miſcarrying talent of railing without conſiſtency or diſcretion againſt the moſt innocent perſons according to the preſent ſituation of his gall and ſpleen. I do not blame an *honeſt* gentleman for the bittereſt invectives againſt one to whom he profeſſeth the greateſt friendſhip, provided he acts in the dark, ſo as not to be diſcovered: but in the midſt of *careſſes*, *viſits*, and *invitations*, to run into the ſtreets, or to as *public a place*, and without the leaſt pretended incitement ſputter out the baſeſt and falſeſt accuſations; then to wipe his mouth, come up ſmiling to his friend, ſhake him by the hand, and tell him in a whiſper, it was *all for his ſervice*: this proceeding, I am bold to think a great failure in prudence: and

I am afraid leſt ſuch a practitioner, with a body ſo *open*, ſo *foul*, and ſo *full of ſores*, may fall under the reſentment of an incenſed political *ſurgeon*, who is not in much renown for his mercy upon great provocation: who, without waiting for his death, will *flay* and *diſſect* him alive; and to the view of mankind lay open all the diſordered cells of his brain, the venom of his tongue, the corruption of his heart, and ſpots and flatuſes of his ſpleen: and all this for *three pence*.

In ſuch a caſe, what a ſcene would be laid open! and, to drop my metaphor, what a character of our miſtaking friend might an angry enemy draw and expoſe! particularizing that unnatural conjunction of vices and follies ſo inconſiſtent with each other in the ſame breaſt: furious and fawning, ſcurrilous and flattering, cowardly and provoking, inſolent and abject; moſt profligately falſe, with the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of ſincerity; poſitive and variable, tyrannical and ſlaviſh.

I apprehend, that if all this ſhould be ſet out to the world by an angry Whig of the *old* ſtamp, the unavoidable conſequence muſt be a confinement of our *friend* for ſome months *more* to his garret; and thereby depriving the public for ſo long time, and in ſo *important a juncture* of his uſeful talents in their ſervice, while he is fed like a wild beaſt through a hole; but, I hope, with a ſpecial regard to the *quantity* and *quality* of his nouriſhment.

In vain would his excuſers endeavour to palliate his enormities by imputing them to madneſs; becauſe it is well known, that madneſs only operates by inflaming and enlarging the good or evil diſpoſitions of the mind. For the *curators* of Bedlam aſſure us, that ſome lunatics are perſons of *honour*, *truth*, *benevolence*, and many other virtues, which appear in their higheſt ravings, although after a wild incoherent manner; while others on the contrary, diſcover in every word and action the utmoſt *baſeneſs* and depravity of human minds; which infallibly they poſſeſſed in the ſame degree, although perhaps under a better regulation, before their entrance into that *academy*.

But it may be objected, that there is an argument of much force to excuſe the overflowings of that zeal which our *friend ſhews or means* for our cauſe. And it muſt

be confeſſed, that the *eaſy and ſmooth fluency of his el cution, beſtowed on him by nature, and cultivated l continual practice*, added to the *comelineſs of his perſo* the *harmony of his voice*, the *graceſulneſs of his manne* and the *decency of his dreſs*, are temptations too ſtrong ſi ſuch a genius to reſiſt upon any public occaſion of maki them appear with univerſal applauſe. And if good m are ſometimes accuſed of loving their *jeſt* better than the *friend*; ſurely to gain the reputation of the firſt orator the kingdom, no man of ſpirit would ſcruple to loſe all t *friends* he had in the world.

It is uſual for maſters to make their boys declaim both ſides of an argument; and as ſome kinds of aſſembli are called the *ſchools of politics*, I confeſs nothing can be ter improve political ſchoolboys, than the art of maki plauſible or implauſible harangues againſt the very opini for which they reſolve to determine.

So Cardinal Perron, after having ſpoke for an hour the admiration of all his hearers to prove the exiſten of God, told ſome of his intimates, that he could ha ſpoken another hour, and much better, to prove the co trary.

I have placed this reaſoning in the ſtrongeſt light that think it will bear; and have nothing to anſwer, but th allowing it as much weight as the reader ſhall pleaſe, hath conſtantly met with ill ſucceſs in the mouth of o *friend*; but whether for want of good luck, or good m nagement, I ſuſpend my judgment.

To return from this long digreſſion: If perſons in hi ſtations have *been allowed* to chuſe *wenches* without r gard even to difference in religion, *yet* never *incurred* t leaſt reflection on their loyalty, or their Proteſtantiſm ſhall the chief governor of a great kingdom be cenſured f chuſing a *companion*, who may formerly have been ſuſpe ed for differing from the *orthodox* in ſome ſpeculative o nions of perſons and things, which cannot affect the fu damental principles of a ſound *Whig?*

But let me ſuppoſe a very poſſible caſe. Here is a pe ſon ſent to govern Ireland, whoſe unfortunate weak ſide happens to be, for ſeveral reaſons above mentioned, th he hath encouraged the attendance of one or two gentl

men diſtinguiſhed for their taſte, their wit, and their learning; who have taken the oaths to his Majeſty, and pray heartily for him: yet becauſe they may perhaps be ſtigmatized as *quondam* Tories by Piſtorides and his gang, his Excellency muſt be forced to baniſh them under the pain and peril of diſpleaſing the zealots of his own party; and thereby be put into a worſe condition than every common good fellow, who may be a ſincere *Proteſtant* and a loyal ſubject, and yet rather chuſe to drink fine ale at the *Pope*'s head, than muddy at the *King*'s.

Let me then return to my ſuppoſitions. It is certain, the high-flown loyaliſts in the preſent ſenſe of the word have their thoughts, and ſtudies, and tongues, ſo entirely diverted by political ſchemes, that the *zeal* of their principles hath *eaten* up their *underſtandings*; neither have they time, from their employments, their hopes, and their hourly labours, for acquiring new additions of merit to amuſe themſelves with philological converſe or ſpeculations, which are utterly ruinous to all ſchemes of riſing in the world. What then muſt a great man do, whoſe ill ſtars have fatally perverted him to a love, and taſte, and poſſeſſion of literature, politeneſs, and good ſenſe? our thorough-ſped republic of Whigs, which contains the bulk of all *hopers*, *pretenders*, *expecters*, and *profeſſors*, are beyond all doubt moſt *highly uſeful* to princes, to governors, to great miniſters, and to their country; but at the ſame time, and by neceſſary conſequence, the moſt diſagreeable companions to all, who have that unfortunate turn of mind peculiar to his Excellency, and perhaps to five or ſix more in a nation.

I do not deny it poſſible, that an original or proſelyte favourite of the times might have been born to thoſe uſeleſs talents, which in former ages qualified a man to be a poet or a philoſopher. All I contend for, is, that where the true genius of party once enters, *it ſweeps the houſe clean*, and leaves room for many *other ſpirits* to take joint poſſeſſion, until the *laſt ſtate of that man is exceedingly* better *than the firſt*.

I allow it a great error in his Excellency, that he adheres ſo obſtinately to his old *unfaſhionable* academic education; *yet ſo perverſe* is human nature, that the uſual remedies

remedies for this evil in others have produced a contra effect in him; to a degree, that I am credibly informe he will, as I have already hinted, in the middle of a ſe ſion quote paſſages out of Plato and Pindar at his own tab to ſome *book-learned* companion without bluſhing, ev when perſons of *great ſtations* are by.

I will venture one ſtep further; which is, freely to co feſs, that this miſtaken method of educating youth in t knowledge of ancient learning and language is too apt ſpoil their *politics* and *principles*; becauſe the doctrine a examples of the books they read, teach them leſſons *rectly contrary in every point* to the *preſent practice* of t world: and accordingly Hobbes moſt judiciouſly obſerv that the writings of the Greeks and Romans made you men imbibe opinions againſt abſolute power in a prince, even in a firſt *miniſter*; and to embrace notions of libe and property.

It hath been therefore a great felicity in theſe kingdon that the heirs to titles and large eſtates have a weakn in their eyes, a tenderneſs in their conſtitutions; are u able to bear the pain and indignity of whipping; and, the mother rightly expreſſes it, could never *take to th books*, yet are well enough qualified to ſign a receipt half a year's rent, to put their names (*rightly ſpelt*) t warrant, and to read pamphlets againſt *religion* and *li flying*; whereby they fill their niches, and carry themſel through the world with that dignity which beſt become *ſenator* and a *'ſquire*.

I could heartily wiſh his Excellency would be more c deſcending to the *genius* of the kingdom he governs; the condition of the times, and to the nature of the ſ tion he fills. Yet if it be true, what I have read in Engliſh ſtory-books, that one Ageſilaus (no matter to bulk of my readers whether I ſpell the name right wrong) was caught by the *parſon of the pariſh* riding a hobby-horſe with his children; that Socrates a Heath philoſopher was found dancing by himſelf at fourſco that a King called *Cæſar Auguſtus* (or ſome ſuch man uſed to play with boys, whereof ſome might poſſibly ſons of *Tories*; and that two great men called *Scipio* a *Lelius*, (I forget their Chriſtian names, and whet

ɔets or generals), often played at *duck* and
ſmooth ſtones on a river Now, I ſay, if
: true, (and the book where I found them is
:annot imagine, why our moſt zealous patriots
ittle indulge his Excellency in an infirmity
: morally evil; provided he gives no public
ch is by all means to be avoided: I ſay, why
ɔe indulged twice a week to converſe with
particular perſons; and let him and them
heir old *exploded* readings together, after
nt in hearing and perſcribing *ways and means*
his *moſt obedient* politicians for the welfare
om; although the ſaid particular perſon, or
' not have made ſo public a declaration of
l faith all its parts, as the buſineſs of the
es: ſtill ſubmitting my opinion to that *hap-*
which I am confident is *always in the right;*
: *liberty* of the ſubject hath been ſo frequent-
ouſly, and ſo ſucceſsfully aſſerted; who by
inſels have made *commerce* to flouriſh, *money*
ıhabitants to increaſe, the value of lands and
; and the whole iſland put on a new face of
oſperity.

rder to clear his Excellency more fully from
n of ſhewing his favours to *high-fliers*, *Tories*,
s, it will be neceſſary to come to particulars.
perſon of a *Tory* denomination, to whom his
gave any marks of his favour, was Doctor
ridan. It is to be obſerved, that this hap-
ly in his Excellency's government, as it may
ɔoſed he had not been informed of that gen-
racter upon ſo *dangerous* an article. The
well known, and diſtinguiſhed for his ſkill
ı the education of youth beyond moſt of his
r many years paſt, was recommended to his
ɔn the ſcore of his learning, and particularly
ledge in the Greek tongue; whereof, it ſeems,
:y is a great admirer, although for what rea-
never imagine. However, it is agreed on
at his Lordſhip was too eaſily prevailed on by
requeſt, or indeed rather from the bias of his

own

own nature, to hear a tragedy acted in that *unknown* l guage by the Doctor's lads, which was written by ſo Heathen author; but whether it contained any *Tory high-church* principles, muſt be left to the conſcience the *boys*, the *Doctor*, and his *Excellency*; the *only* neſſes in this caſe, whoſe teſtimonies can be depen upon.

It ſeems, his Excellency (a thing never to be ſuffici ly wondered at) was ſo pleaſed with his entertainm that ſome time after he gave the Doctor a church-li to the value of almoſt one hundred pounds a-year, made him one of his chaplains; from an *antiquated* tion, that good ſchoolmaſters ought to be encourage every nation profeſſing civility and religion. Yet his cellency did not venture to make this bold ſtep witl ſtrong recommendations from perſons of undoubted p ciples *fitted to the times*; who thought themſelves bo in juſtice, honour, and gratitude, to do the Doctor a g office, in return for the care he had taken of their c dren, or of thoſe of their friends. Yet the cataſtr was terrible: for the Doctor, in the height of his feli and gratitude, going down to take poſſeſſion of his pa and furniſhed with a few led ſermons, whereof as it i be ſuppoſed the number was very ſmall, having n ſerved a cure in the church; he ſtopt at Cork to atten his biſhop; and going to church on the *Sunday* follow was, according to the uſual civility of country-clergy invited by the miniſter of the pariſh to ſupply the pu It *happened* to be the firſt of Auguſt; and the firſ Auguſt *happened* that year to light upon a *Sunday*: it *happened* that the Doctor's text was in theſe wo *Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof* *: and laſt *happened* that ſome one perſon of the congregation, w loyalty made him watchful upon every appearance of ger to his Majeſty's perſon and government, when ſer was over, gave the alarm. Notice was immediately ſen to town; and by the zeal of one man *of no large di ſions of body or mind*, ſuch a clamour was raiſed, tha

* The firſt of Auguſt is the anniverſary of the Hanoverian *mily's* acceſſion to the crown of Great Britain. *Hawkeſ.*

Dublin could apprehend no leſs than an invaſion by the *ender*, who muſt be landed in the *ſouth*. The reſult , that the Doctor muſt be ſtruck out of the chaplain's and appear no more at the caſtle; yet whether he e then, or be at this day, a *Whig* or a *Tory*, I think is cret; only it is manifeſt, that he is a zealous Hanove- , at leaſt in poetry, and a great admirer of the preſent l family through all its branches. His friends likewiſe t, that he had preached this ſermon often under the e text; that not having obſerved the words, till he in the pulpit, and had opened his notes, as he is a per- a little abſtracted, he wanted preſence of mind to ge them: and that in the whole ſermon there was not llable relating to government or party, or to the ſub- of the day.

n this incident there ſeems to have been an union of nts, that will probably never happen again to the end he world; or is, at leaſt, like the grand conjunction in heavens; which, I think, they ſay can arrive but once wenty thouſand years.

The ſecond gentleman (if I am right in my chronolo- who under the ſuſpicion of a *Tory* received ſome fa- r from his Excellency, is Mr James Stopford; very ngly recommended by the moſt eminent *Whig* in Eng- l on the account of his learning, and virtue, and o- accompliſhments. He had paſſed the greateſt part is youth in cloſe ſtudy, or in travelling; and was ei- not at home, or not at leiſure to trouble his thoughts ut party; which I allow to be a great omiſſion, al- gh I cannot honeſtly place him in the liſt of *Tories*; therefore think his Excellency may be fairly acquitted making him vicar of Finglas, worth about one hun- d pounds a-year.

The third is Doctor Patrick Delany. This divine lies er ſome diſadvantage; having in his youth received y civilities from a certain perſon *, then in a very h ſtation here; for which reaſon, I doubt the Doctor er drank his confuſion ſince, and what makes the mat-

* Sir Conſtantine Phipps, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, when een Anne died.

ter

ter deſperate, it is now too late; unleſs our *inquiſiti* will be content with drinking *confuſion* to his *memo* The aforeſaid eminent perſon, who was a judge of all r rit, except that of *party*, diſtinguiſhed the Doctor am other juniors in our univerſity for his learning, virtue, c creation, and good ſenſe. But the Doctor was then in good a ſituation at his college to hope or endeavour t better eſtabliſhment from one who had no power to g it him.

Upon the preſent Lord Lieutenant's coming over, Doctor was named to his Excellency by a *friend* † am other clergy of diſtinction, as perſons whoſe character was proper his Excellency ſhould know; and by the tr of which the *giver* would be content to ſtand or fal his Excellency's opinion; ſince not one of thoſe per were in particular friendſhip with the *gentleman* who g in their names. By this and ſome other incidents, pa cularly the recommendation of the late Archbiſhop Dublin, the Doctor became known to his Excellen whoſe fatal turn of mind towards *heatheniſh* and *outland* books and languages, finding, as I conceive, a like diſpo tion in the Doctor, was the cauſe of his becoming ſo c meſtic, as we are told he is, at the caſtle of Dublin.

Three or four years ago the Doctor grown weary of academic life, for ſome reaſons beſt known to the ma gers of the diſcipline in that learned ſociety, (which may not be for their honour to mention), reſolved to le it; although, by the benefit of the pupils, and his fen fellowſhip, with all its perquiſites, he received every y between nine hundred and a thouſand pounds. And ſmall northern living, in the univerſity's donation, of ſom what better than one hundred pounds a year falling at t ſame time with the chancellorſhip of Chriſt-church, to bout equal the value, in the gift of his Excellency; t Doctor ventured into the world in a very ſcanty conditio having ſquandered away all his annual income in a ma ner, which, although perhaps proper enough for a cler man without a family, will not be for the advantage of h character to diſcover either on the exchange, or at a bar er's ſhop.

* The author.

bout two months ago, his Excellency gave the Doc-
prebend in St Patrick's cathedral; which being of
the ſame value with either of the two former, will
a third part to his revenues, after he ſhall have paid
great incumbrances upon it: ſo that he may now be
to poſſeſs of church-preferments in ſcattered tithes
: hundred pounds a-year; inſtead of the like ſum of
lible rents from a ſenior fellowſhip, with the offices
ked; beſide the advantage of a free lodging a great
ber of pupils, and ſome other eaſements.
ut ſince the Doctor hath not in any of his writings, his
ons, his actions, his diſcourſe, or his company, diſ-
red one ſingle principle of either *Whig* or *Tory*; and
the Lord Lieutenant ſtill continues to admit him;
ll boldly pronounce him ONE OF US: but, like a
free maſon, who hath not yet learned all the dialect
ie myſtery. Neither can he juſtly be accuſed of any
doctrines; except perhaps ſome among thoſe few
which that *wicked party* was charged during the
ht of their power, but have been ſince transferred,
he moſt *ſolid reaſons*, to the *whole body* of our firmeſt
ds.
have now done with the clergy: and upon the ſtricteſt
ination have not been able to find above one of that
r, againſt whom any *party*-ſuſpicion can lie; I mean
unfortunate gentleman Doctor Sheridan, who by mere
ce-medley ſhot his own fortune dead with a ſingle

s to the laity, I can hear of but one perſon of the
ſtamp, who ſince the beginning of his Excellency's
rnment did ever receive any ſolid mark of his favour:
an Sir Arthur Acheſon, reported to be an acknow-
ed *Tory*; and, what is almoſt as bad, a *ſcholar* into
bargain. It is whiſpered about, as a certain truth,
this gentleman is to have a grant of a certain barrack
on his eſtate within two miles of his own houſe; for
ch the crown is to be his tenant, at the rent of ſixty
ads *per annum*; he being only at the expenſe of a-

See a poem upon this incident, intitled, *The grand queſtion*
ted, &c. vol. 6. p. 331.

bout *five hundred* pounds to put the houſe in repair, bu
ſtables, and other neceſſaries. I will place this *invidi*
mark of beneficence conferred on a *Tory* in a fair lig
by computing the coſts and neceſſary defalcations: a
which it may be ſeen how much Sir Arthur will be
nually a clear gainer by the public; notwithſtanding
unfortunate principles, and his knowledge in Greek
Latin.

For repairs, *&c.* 500 *l.* the intereſt whereof *per ann.*	30 0
For all manner of poultry to furniſh the troopers, but which the ſaid troopers muſt be at the labour of catching, valued *per ann.*	5 0
For ſtraggling ſheep - - - - -	8 0
For game deſtroyed five miles round - -	6 0
	49 0
Rent paid to Sir Arthur - - - -	60 0
Deduct - - - - - -	49 0
Remains clear - - - - -	11 0

Thus, if Sir Arthur Acheſon ſhall have the good for
to obtain a grant of this barrack, he will receive *net* p
annually from the crown ELEVEN pounds *Sterlin*
help him in entertaining the officers, and making provi
for his younger children.

It is true, there is another advantage to be expe
which may fully compenſate the loſs of cattle and poul
by multiplying the breed of mankind, and particularly
of *good Proteſtants*, in a part of the kingdom half d
pulated by the wild humour among the farmers the
leaving their country. But I am not ſo ſkilful in arithm
as to compute the value.

I have reckoned one *per cent.* below the legal int
for the money that Sir Arthur muſt expend; and va
the damage in the other articles very moderately. H
ever, I am confident he may with good management
ſave at leaſt; which is a *prodigious inſtance of moder*

friends towards a profeſſed *Tory*; whatever merit pretend by the unwillingneſs he hath ſhewn to make ellency uneaſy in his adminiſtration.

s I have, with the utmoſt impartiality, collected ngle favour (further than perſonal civilities) con- by his Excellency on *Tories*, and reputed *Tories*, s firſt arrival hither to this 30th day of April, in r of our Lord 1730, giving all allowance poſſible rguments on the other ſide of the queſtion: and the will ſtand thus.

oſed of preferments and employments to *Tories*, ted *Tories*, by his Excellency John Lord Carteret, lieutenant of Ireland, in about the ſpace of ſix

ſtor Thomas Sheridan, in a rectory Kinſale, *per annum* - -	100 0 0
Arthur Acheſon, Baronet, a barrack, *inn.* - - - - -	11 0 0
	111 0 0

me leave now to compute in groſs the value of the done by his Excellency to the *true friends* of their d country, and of the *Proteſtant religion*.

to be remembered, that although his Excellency can- properly ſaid to beſtow biſhoprics, commands in the he place of a judge, or commiſſioner in the revenue, ne others; yet they are for the moſt part diſpoſed is recommendation, except where the perſons are ately ſent from England by their intereſt at court; ich I have allowed great defalcations in the follow- ounts. And it is remarkable, that the *only* conſider- tion conferred on a *Tory* ſince his preſent Excel- government was of this *latter* kind.

indeed it is but too notorious, that in a neighbour- ion (where this dangerous denomination of men is arably more numerous, more powerful, and of con- e more formidable) *real Tories* can often with much iculty obtain very high favours from the govern-

ment, than their *reputed* brethren can arrive to the l in ours. I obſerve this with all poſſible ſubmiſſion t wiſdom of their policy; which however will not; I be diſpute the praiſe of vigilance with ours.

WHIG account.

To perſons promoted to biſhoprics, or removed to more beneficial ones, computed *per ann.* - - -	10,05c
To civil employments - - -	903c
To military commands - -	843c
	27,51c

TORY account.

To *Tories* - - - - - -	111
Balance - - - - - -	27,405

I ſhall conclude with this obſervation, that, as I the *Tories* have ſufficient reaſon to be *fully ſatisfied* the ſhare of *truſt*, *power*, and *employments*, which poſſeſs under the *lenity* of the preſent government; do not find how his Excellency can be juſtly cenſur favouring none but *high-church*, *high-fliers*, *termag Laudiſts*, *Sacheverellians*, *tip-top-gallon-men*, *Jac tantivies*, *Anti-hanoverians*, *friends to Popery an pretender and to arbitrary power*, *diſobligers of* En *breakers of* DEPENDENCY, *inflamers of qu between the two nations*, *public incendiaries*, *enem the King and kingdoms*, *haters of* TRUE *Prote laurel-men*, *Anniſts*, *complainers of the nation's po Grimcndians*, *iconoclaſts*, *anti-glorious-memoriſts*, *revolutioners*, *white-roſaliſts*, *tenth-a-junians*, an like, when, by a fair ſtate of the account, the balar conceive, *ſeems to lie* on the other ſide.

CONSIDERAT

CONSIDERATIONS upon two BILLS ſent down from the Rt Hon. the houſe of LORDS to the Hon. the houſe of COMMONS in IRELAND, relating to the CLERGY *.

Written in the year 1731.

I Have often for above a month paſt deſired ſome few clergymen, who are pleaſed to viſit me, that they would procure an extract of two BILLS brought into the council by ſome of the biſhops, and both of them ſince paſſed in the *houſe of Lords*: but I could never obtain what I deſired, whether by the forgetfulneſs or negligence of thoſe whom I employed, or the difficulty of the thing itſelf. Therefore, if I ſhall happen to miſtake in any fact of conſequence, I deſire my remarks upon it may paſs for nothing; for my information is no better, than what I received in words from ſeveral divines, who ſeemed to agree with each other. I have not the honour to be acquainted with any one ſingle *prelate* of the kingdom; and am a ſtranger to their *characters*, further than as common fame reports them, which is not to be depended on: therefore I cannot be ſuppoſed to act upon a principle of reſentment. I eſteem their functions (if I may be

* In the year 1731, a bill was brought into the houſe of Lords, by a great majority of the Right Reverend the biſhops, for enabling them to divide the livings of the inferior clergy; which bill was approved of in the privy council of Ireland, and paſſed by the Lords in parliament. It was afterwards ſent to the houſe of Commons for their approbation; but was rejected by them with a great majority. The author of the following conſiderations, who hath always been the beſt friend to the inferior clergy of the church of England, as may be ſeen by many parts of his writings, oppoſed this pernicious project with great ſucceſs; which, if it had paſſed into a law, would have been of the worſt conſequence to this nation. *Dub. edit.* 1738.

allowed to ſay ſo without offence) as truly *apoſtolical*, and abſolutely neceſſary to the perfection of a *Chriſtian church*.

There are no qualities more incident to the frailty and corruptions of humankind, than an indifference or inſenſibility for other mens ſufferings, and a ſudden forgetfulneſs of their own former humble ſtate, when they riſe in the world. Theſe two diſpoſitions have not, I think, any where ſo ſtrongly exerted themſelves, as in the order of biſhops with regard to the inferior clergy; for which I can find no reaſons, but ſuch as naturally ſhould ſeem to operate a quite contrary way. The maintenance of the clergy throughout the kingdom is precarious and uncertain, collected from a moſt miſerable race of beggarly farmers; at whoſe mercy every *miniſter* lies to be defrauded. His office as *rector*, or *vicar*, if it be duly executed, is very laborious. As ſoon as he is promoted to a *biſhopric*, the ſcene is entirely and happily changed; his revenues are large, and as ſurely paid as thoſe of the *King*; his whole buſineſs is once a-year to receive the attendance, the ſubmiſſion, and the proxy-money of all his clergy, in whatever part of the dioceſe he ſhall pleaſe to think moſt convenient for himſelf. Neither is his perſonal preſence neceſſary, for the buſineſs may be done by a *vicar-general*. The fatigue of ordination is juſt what the biſhops pleaſe to make it; and as matters have been for ſome time, and may probably remain, the fewer ordinations the better. The reſt of their viſible office conſiſts in the honour of attending parliaments and councils, and beſtowing preferments in their own gift; in which laſt employment, and in their ſpiritual and temporal courts, the labour falls to their *vicars-general*, *ſecretaries*, *proctors*, *apparitors*, *ſeneſchals*, and the like. Now, I ſay, in ſo quick a change, whereby their brethren in a few days are become their ſubjects, it would be reaſonable at leaſt to hope that the labour, confinement, and ſubjection, from which they have ſo lately eſcaped, *like a bird out of the ſnare of the fowler*, might a little incline them to remember the condition of thoſe who were but laſt week their equals, probably their companions or their friends, and poſſibly as reaſonable expectants. There is a known ſtory of Colonel Tidcomb, who,

while he continued a ſubaltern officer, was every day aining againſt the pride, oppreſſion, and hard treat- of *colonels* towards their *officers*; yet in a very few es after he had received his commiſſion for a regi- walking with a friend on the *Mall*, he confeſſed. he ſpirit of colonelſhip was coming faſt upon him, ſpirit is ſaid to have daily increaſed to the hour of ath.

s true, the clergy of this kingdom, who are pro- to *biſhopricks*, have always ſome great advantages; that of rich deaneries, opulent and multiplied recto- nd dignities, ſtrong alliances by birth or marriage, d by a ſuperlative degree of zeal and loyalty: but er, they were all at firſt no more than young begin- and before their great promotion were known by lain *Chriſtian* names among their old companions, iddling rate of *clergymen*; nor could therefore be rs to their condition, or with any good grace forget on, as it hath too often happened.

nfeſs, I do not remember to have obſerved any body n acting with ſo little concert, as our *clergy* have n a point where their opinions appeared to be una- : a point wherein their whole temporal ſupport was ned, as well as their power of ſerving God and his in their ſpiritual functions. This hath been impu- their fear of diſobliging, or hopes of further favours ompliance; becauſe it was obſerved, that ſome who ed at firſt with the greateſt zeal, thought fit ſudden- bſent themſelves from the uſual meetings: yet we what expert *ſolicitors* the *Quakers*, the *Diſſenters*, en the *Papiſts* have ſometimes found to drive a point ntage, or prevent an impending evil.

ve not ſeen any extract from the two bills introdu- the biſhops into the privy council; where the cler- on ſome failure in favour, or through the timorouſ- f many among their brethren, were refuſed to be by the council. It ſeems, theſe bills were both re- , agreed to by the king and council in England, and *uſe of Lords* hath with great expedition paſſed them and it is ſaid, they are immediately to be ſent down *Commons* for their conſent.

The

The particulars, as they have been imperfectly report to me, are as follows.

By one of the bills, the biſhops have power to obli the country-clergy to build a manſion-houſe upon whate part of their glebes their Lordſhips ſhall command; and the living be above 50*l.* a-year, the miniſter is bound build after three years a houſe that ſhall coſt one year a a half's rent of his income. For inſtance, if a clergym with a wife and ſeven children gets a living of 55*l.* *annum*, he muſt after three years build a houſe that ſh coſt 77*l.* 10*s.* and muſt ſupport his family, during t time the biſhop ſhall appoint for the building of it, with remainder. But if the living be under 50*l.* a-year, miniſter ſhall be allowed 100*l.* out of the firſt fruits.

But there is ſaid to be one circumſtance a little extra dinary; that if there be a ſingle ſpot in the glebe m barren, more marſhy, more expoſed to the winds, m diſtant from the church or ſkeleton of a church, or fr any conveniency of building; the rector, or vicar may obliged by the caprice or pique of the biſhop, to bui under pain of ſequeſtration, (an office which ever falls to the moſt knaviſh hands), upon whatever point his *La ſhip* ſhall command; although the farmers have not p one quarter of his dues.

I believe, under the preſent diſtreſſes of the kingdo (which inevitably without a miracle muſt increaſe for eve there are not ten country-clergymen in Ireland, repu to poſſeſs a pariſh of 100*l.* *per annum*, who for fo years paſt have actually received 60*l.* and that with the moſt difficulty and vexation. I am therefore at a loſs, wh kind of valuators the *biſhops* will make uſe of; and wh ther the ſtarving *vicar* ſhall be forced to build his ho with the money he never received.

The other bill, which paſſed in two days after the fi mer, is ſaid to concern the diviſion of pariſhes into as m ny parcels as the *biſhops* ſhall think fit, only leaving 300 a-year to the *mother* church; which 300*l.* by another paſſed ſome years ago, they can divide likewiſe, and cru ble as low as their will and pleaſure will diſpoſe them. that inſtead of ſix hundred clergymen, which, I think, *the* uſual computation, we may have in a ſmall compaſs

almoſt as many thouſands to live with decency and
ort, provide for their children, be charitable to the
and maintain hoſpitality.

t it is very reaſonable to hope, and heartily to be
d by all thoſe who have the leaſt regard to our ho-
igion as hitherto eſtabliſhed, or to a learned, pious,
nt, converſable *clergyman*, or even to common hu-
y, that the *Honourable houſe of Commons* will, in their
wiſdom, juſtice, and tenderneſs to innocent men, con-
theſe bills in another light. It is ſaid, they well
this kingdom not to be ſo overſtocked with neigh-
ng gentry, but a diſcreet learned *clergyman*, with a
etency fit for one of his education, may be an enter-
g, a uſeful, and ſometimes a neceſſary companion:
, although ſuch a clergyman may not be able con-
y to find *beef* and *wine* for his own family, yet he
be allowed ſometimes to afford both to a neighbour
ut diſtreſſing himſelf; and the rather, becauſe he may
t at leaſt as good a return. It will probably be con-
d, that in many deſolate parts there may not be al-
a ſufficient number of perſons conſiderable enough to
uſted with *commiſſions of the peace*, which ſeveral of
lergy now ſupply much better, than a little, hedge,
mptible, illiterate *vicar* from twenty to fifty pounds
r, the ſon of a *weaver*, *pedlar*, *tailor*, or *miller*, can
eſumed to do.

he landlords and farmers by this ſcheme can find no
, but will certainly be loſers. For inſtance, if the
northern livings be ſplit into a dozen pariſhes or
, it will be very neceſſary for the little threadbare
man, with his wife, his proctor, and every child who
rawl, to watch the fields at harveſt-time for fear of
a ſingle ſheaf, which he could not afford under peril
day's ſtarving: for, according to the Scotch proverb,
ngry louſe bites ſore. This would of neceſſity breed
finite number of wrangles and litigious ſuits in the ſpi-
l courts; and put the wretched *paſtor* at perpetual va-
e with his whole pariſh. But, as they have hitherto
l, a clergyman eſtabliſhed in a competent living is not
r the neceſſity of being ſo ſharp, vigilant, and exacting.
the contrary, *it is* well known and allowed, that the

clergy

clergy round the kingdom think themſelves well treated they loſe only one ſingle third of their legal demands.

The Honourable houſe may perhaps be inclined to ceive, that my *Lords* the *Biſhops* enjoy as ample a po both ſpiritual and temporal, as will fully ſuffice to an every branch of their office; that they want no laws to gulate the conduct of thoſe clergymen over whom t preſide; that, if non-reſidence be a grievance, it is patron's fault, who makes not a better choice, or ca the plurality. That, if the general impartial charact perſons choſen into the church had been more regar and the motive of *party*, *alliance*, *kindred*, *flatterers*, *judgment*, or *perſonal favour* regarded leſs, there w be fewer complaints of non-reſidence, want of care, bl able behaviour, or any other part of miſconduct; n mention *ignorance* and *ſtupidity*.

I could name certain gentlemen of the *gown*, w awkward, ſpruce, prim, ſneering, and ſmirking counte ces, the very tone of their voices, and an ungainly in their walk, without one ſingle talent for any one o have contrived to get good preferment by the mere of *flattery* and *cringing*: for which two virtues (the two virtues they pretend to) they were, however, un unqualified: and whom, if I were in power, although were my *nephews*, or had married my *nieces*, I coul ver in point of good conſcience or honour have recomm ed to a *curacy* in Connaught.

The *Honourable houſe of Commons* may likewiſe per conſider, that the gentry of this kingdom differ fro others upon earth, being leſs capable of employment their own country, than any others who come from abr and that moſt of them have little expectation of provi for their younger children otherwiſe than by the chu in which there might be ſome hopes of getting a tole maintenance. For after the patrons ſhould have ſe their *ſons*, their *nephews*, their *nieces*, their *depend* and their *followers* invited over from the other ſide, t would ſtill remain an overplus of ſmaller church-pre ments to be given to ſuch clergy of the nation, who have their *quantum* of whatever merit may be then in *ſhion*. But by theſe bills they will be all as abſolutely

do

as if they had paſſed under the denomination of
; unleſs they can be contented at the utmoſt with
-year; which by the difficulties of collecting tithes
nd, and the daily increaſing miſeries of the people,
dly riſe to half that ſum.

obſerved, that the *divines* ſent over hither to go-
is church have not ſeemed to conſider the difference
n both kingdoms with reſpect to the inferior *clergy*,
hemſelves indeed, they find a large revenue in lands
ne quarter value, which conſequently muſt be paid
here is a penny left among us; and the public di-
little affects their intereſts, that their fines are now
than ever: they content themſelves to ſuppoſe, that
er a pariſh is ſaid to be worth, comes all into the
s pocket.

poverty of great numbers among the clergy of
d hath been the continual complaint of all men,
iſh well to the church, and many ſchemes have
ought on to redreſs it; yet an Engliſh *vicar* of
-year, lives much more comfortably than one of
the value in Ireland. His farmers, generally
g, are able and willing to pay him his full dues;
a decent church of ancient ſtanding, filled every
day with a large congregation of plain people, well
nd behaving themſelves as if they believed in GOD
HRIST. He hath a houſe and barn in repair, a
two to graze his cows, with a garden and orchard.
ſt expects more from him than a pot of ale: he
ke an honeſt plain farmer, as his wife is dreſſed
le better than *goody*. He is ſometimes graciouſly
by the 'ſquire, where he ſits at an humble diſtance:
ets the love of his people, they often make him little
preſents: he is happy by being born to no higher
ation; for he is uſually the ſon of ſome ordinary
nan, or middling farmer. His learning is much of
with his birth and education; no more of either,
hat a poor hungry *ſervitor* can be expected to bring
im from his *college*. It would be tedious to ſhew
verſe of all this in our diſtant poorer pariſhes through
arts of Ireland, wherein every reader may make the
riſon.

Laſtly,

Laſtly, the *Honourable houſe of Commons* ma whether the ſcheme of multiplying beggarly through the whole kingdom, who muſt all hav chuſing parliament-men (provided they can freeholds to be worth 40*s. per annum, ultra* may not, by their numbers, have great influen *lections*; being entirely under the dependence *ſhops*. For by a moderate computation, after viſions and ſubdiviſions of pariſhes, that my *Lo ſhops* have power to make by their new laws, as ſoon as the preſent ſet of clergy goes off, b army of *eccleſiaſtical militants* able enough fo of ſervice, except that of the altar.

I am indeed in ſome concern about a fund f a thouſand or two churches, wherein theſe may read their *wall-lectures*; and begin to muſt be contented with *barns*; which *barns* great advancing ſtep towards an accommodati *true Proteſtant brethren*, the *Diſſenters*.

The ſcheme of encouraging *clergymen* to l by dividing a living of 500*l.* a-year into te contrivance, the meaning whereof hath got o ſide of my comprehenſion; unleſs it may be a *biſhops* build no houſes, becauſe they are ſo therefore the inferior *clergy* will certainly b reduce them to beggary. But I knew a ve of quality in England, who could never be keep a *ſervant* out of *livery*; becauſe ſuch ſer be expenſive, and apt in time to look like whereas the others were ready to ſubmit to t fices, and at a cheaper pennyworth might inc tinue.

I hear, it is the opinion of many wiſe men, theſe bills paſs both houſes, they ſhould be England with the following clauſes inſerted.

Firſt, that whereas there may be about a d *biſhoprics* in Ireland, thoſe *biſhoprics* ſhould given to different perſons; and thoſe of a ſm nation be alſo divided into two, three, or ſo occaſion ſhall require; otherwiſe there may b ſtarted, Whether twenty-two *prelates* can ef

heir paternal care and unlimited power, for the pro-
n and correction of ſo great a number of ſpiritual *ſub-*

But this propoſal will meet with ſuch furious ob-
ns, that I ſhall not inſiſt upon it: for I well remem-
have read, what a terrible fright the *frogs* were in,
a report, that the ſun was going to marry.

other clauſe ſhould be, that none of theſe twenty,
, forty, or fifty pounders may be ſuffered to marry
the penalty of immediate deprivation; their mar-
s declared *null*, and their children baſtards: for
deſponding people take the kingdom to be in no
tion of encouraging ſo numerous a breed of beggars.

third clauſe will be neceſſary, that theſe humble gen-
ould be abſolutely diſqualified from giving votes in
ons for *parliament-men*.

thers add a fourth; which is a clauſe of indulgence,
theſe reduced *divines* may be permitted to follow any
l ways of living, which will not call them too often
o far from their ſpiritual offices: (for, unleſs I miſ-
thend, they are ſuppoſed to have *epiſcopal ordina-*
. For example, they may be lappers of linen, bai-
of the manor; they may let blood, or apply plaiſters
hree miles round: they may get a diſpenſation to hold
lerkſhip and *ſextonſhip* of their own pariſh *in com-*
lam. Their wives and daughters may make ſhirts for
eighbourhood; or, if a *barrack* be near, for the *ſol-*
: in linen countries they may *card* and *ſpin*, and keep
looms in the houſe: they may let lodgings, and ſell
of ale without doors, but not at home, unleſs to ſo-
ompany, and at regular hours. It is by ſome thought
e hard, that in an affair of the laſt conſequence to
ery being of the *clergy* in the points of liberty and
rty, as well as in their abilities to perform their du-
is whole Reverend body, who are the eſtabliſhed in-
ors of the nation in Chriſtianity and moral virtues,
re the only perſons concerned, ſhould be the ſole
s not conſulted. Let any ſcholar ſhew the like pre-
t in Chriſtendom for twelve hundred years paſt. An
parliament for ſettling or ſelling an eſtate in a pri-
family is never paſſed, until all parties give conſent.
n the preſent caſe, the whole body of the *clergy* is,

as themſelves apprehend, determined to utter ruin without once expecting or aſking their opinion; and this by a ſcheme contrived only by *one part* of the *convocation*, while the other part which hath been choſen in the uſual forms, wants only the regal permiſſion to aſſemble, and conſult about the affairs of the church, as their predeceſſors have always done in former ages; where it is preſumed, the *lower houſe* hath a power of propoſing canons and a negative voice, as well as the upper. And God forbid (ſay theſe objectors) that there ſhould be a real ſeparate intereſt between the biſhops and clergy, any more than there is between a man and his wife, a king and his people, or CHRIST and his church.

It ſeems there is a proviſion in the bill, that no parish ſhall be cut into ſcraps without the conſent of ſeveral perſons, who can be no ſufferers in the matter; but I cannot find that the clergy lay much weight on this caution; becauſe they argue, that the very perſons from whom theſe bills took their riſe, will have the greateſt ſhare in the deciſion.

I do not by any means conceive the crying ſin of the *clergy* in this kingdom to be that of *non-reſidence*. I am ſure, it is many degrees leſs ſo here than in England; unleſs the poſſeſſion of pluralities may paſs under that name; and if this be a fault, it is well known to whom it muſt be imputed: I believe upon a fair inquiry (and I hear an inquiry is to be made) they will appear to be moſt pardonable few; eſpecially, conſidering how many pariſhes have no an inch of *glebe*, and how difficult it is upon any reaſonable terms to find a place of habitation. And therefore God knows, whether my *Lords the Biſhops* will be ſoon able to convince the *clergy*, or thoſe who have any regard for that venerable body, that the chief motive in their *Lordſhips* minds by procuring theſe bills was to prevent the ſin of *non-reſidence*; while the univerſal opinion of almost every *clergyman* in the kingdom, without diſtinction of party taking in even thoſe who are not likely to be ſufferers, ſtands directly againſt them.

If ſome livings in the *north* may be juſtly thought to be large a compaſs of land, which makes it inconvenient for the remoteſt inhabitants to attend the ſervice of the church

which

ich in ſome inſtances may be true, no reaſonable *clergy-*
n would oppoſe a proper remedy by particular acts of
liament.

Thus, for inſtance, the *deanery of* Down, a country-
nery, I think, without a cathedral, depending wholly
on an union of pariſhes joined together in a time when
land lay waſte and thinly inhabited; ſince thoſe cir-
nſtances are ſo prodigiouſly changed for the better, may
perly be leſſened, leaving a decent competency to the
an, and placing *rectories* in the remaining churches,
ich are now ſerved only by ſtipendiary *curates*.

The caſe may be probably the ſame in other parts: and
h a proceeding diſcreetly managed would be truly for
good of the church.

For it is to be obſerved, that the dean and chapter lands,
ich, in England, were all ſeized under the fanatic uſur-
ion, are things unknown in Ireland, having been long
iſhed from the church by a ſucceſſion of confuſions, and
es applied in their ſtead to ſupport that eccleſiaſtical
nity.

The late * *Archbiſhop of* Dublin had a very different
y of encouraging the *clergy* of his dioceſe to reſidence:
n a leaſe had run out ſeven years or more, he ſtipu-
d with the tenant to reſign up twenty or thirty acres to
miniſter of the pariſh where it lay convenient, without
ming his former rent; and with no great abatement of
fine; and this he did in the parts near Dublin, where
l is at the higheſt rates, leaving a ſmall chiefry for the
iſter to pay, hardly a ſixth part of the value. I doubt
, that almoſt every *biſhop* in the kingdom may do the
e generous act with leſs damage to their ſees, than his
Grace of Dublin; much of whoſe lands were out in
farms, or leaſes for lives; and I am ſorry that the good
mple of ſuch a *prelate* hath not been followed.

ut a great majority of the *clergy*'s friends cannot hi-
to reconcile themſelves to this project; which they
a *levelling principle*, that muſt inevitably root out the
ls of all honeſt emulation, the legal parent of the great-
irtue and moſt generous actions among men; but which,
he general opinion, (for I do not pretend to offer my

*The Right Reverend Dr *William King*.

own), will never more have room to exert itſelf in breaſt of any *clergyman* whom this kingdom ſhall prod

But whether the conſequences of theſe bills may, the virtues and frailties of future *biſhops* ſent over hi to rule the church, terminate in good or evil, I ſhall preſume to determine, ſince God can work the *former* of the *latter*. However, one thing I can venture to aſ that from the earlieſt ages of Chriſtianity to the min am now writing, there never was a precedent of ſ proceeding, much leſs was it to be feared, hoped, or a hended from ſuch hands in any Chriſtian country; a it may paſs for more than a *phœnix*; becauſe it hath without any aſſiſtance from the *aſhes* of its *fire*.

The appearance of ſo many *Diſſenters* at the heari this cauſe is what, I am told, hath not been charg the account of their prudence or moderation; be that action hath been cenſured as a mark of *triump* inſult before the *victory* is complete: ſince neith theſe bills hath yet paſſed the *houſe of Commons*, and are pleaſed to think it not impoſſible that they m rejected *. Neither do I hear, that there is an en clauſe in either of the bills to apply any part of the ded or ſubdivided tithes towards increaſing the ſtipe the *ſectaries*. So that theſe gentlemen ſeem to be fied like him, who, after having been kicked down took comfort, when he ſaw his friend kicked down him.

I have heard many more objections againſt ſevera ticulars of both theſe bills; but they are of ſo high a n and carry ſuch dreadful *innuendoes*, that I dare not tion them, reſolving to give no offence, becauſe I well how obnoxious I have long been (although I co without any fault of my own) to the zeal and princi thoſe who place all difference in opinion concernir blic matters to the ſcore of *diſaffection*; whereof I leaſt as innocent as the loudeſt of my *detractors*.

Dublin, Feb. 24.
1731-2.

* They were rejected in the *houſe of Commons* by a gre jority. *Hawkeſ.*

OPOSAL for an ACT of PARLIAMENT, to pay the DEBT of the nation, without taxing e ſubject; by which the number of landed ntry will be conſiderably increaſed, and no rſon will be the poorer, or contribute one thing to the charge *..

Written in the year 1732.

HE debts contracted ſome years paſt for the ſervice and ſafety of the nation are grown ſo great, that our preſent diſtreſſed condition by the want of trade, eat remittances to pay abſentees, regiments ſerving d, and many other drains of money well enough n and felt, the kingdom ſeems altogether unable to rge them by the common methods of payment: and a *poll* or *land tax* would be too odious to think of, ally the latter; becauſe the lands, which have been r theſe ten or dozen years paſt, were raiſed ſo high, he owner can at preſent hardly receive any rent at all. t is the uſual practice of an Iriſh tenant, rather than land, to offer more for a farm than he knows he can e able to pay; and in that caſe he grows deſperate, ays nothing at all. So that a *land-tax* upon a rack-ate would be a burthen wholly inſupportable.

he queſtion will then be, How theſe national debts can id; and how I can make good the ſeveral particulars y propoſal? which I ſhall now lay open to the pu-

he revenues of their Graces and Lordſhips the Arch-ps and Biſhops of this kingdom (excluding the fines) mount by a moderate computation to 36,800 *l. per* I mean the rents which the biſhops receive from

* The reader will perceive the following treatiſe to be altogether cal.

their tenants. But the real value of thoſe lands at a rent, taking the ſeveral fees one with another, is red ed to be at leaſt three fourths more; ſo that, multipl 36,800 *l.* by 4, the full rent of all the biſhops lands amount to 147,200 *l. per ann.* from which ſubtracting preſent rent received by their Lordſhips, that is, 36,8(the profits of the lands received by the firſt and ſecon nants, (who both have great bargains), will riſe to the of 110,400 *l. per ann.*: which lands, if they wer be ſold at twenty-two years purchaſe, would raiſe a ſu 2,428,800 *l.* reſerving to the biſhops their preſent r only excluding fines.

Of this ſum, I propoſe, that out of the one half, w amounts to 1,214,400 *l.* ſo much be applied, as wil tirley diſcharge the debts of the nation; and the ren der be laid up in the treaſury to ſupply contingencies well as to diſcharge ſome of our heavy taxes, until kingdom ſhall be in a better condition.

But whereas the preſent ſet of biſhops would be loſers by this ſcheme for want of their fines; which w be hard treatment to ſuch *religious*, *loyal*, and *defe* perſonages; I have therefore ſet apart the other ha ſupply that defect, which it will more than ſufficientl

A biſhop's leaſe for the full term is reckoned to be v eleven years purchaſe; but if we take the biſhops r I ſuppoſe there may be four years of each leaſe ela and many of the biſhops being well ſtricken in ye cannot think their lives round to be worth more than years purchaſe; ſo that the purchaſers may very well fifteen years purchaſe for the reverſion, eſpecially by great additional advantage, which I ſhall ſoon menti

This ſum of 2,428,800 *l.* muſt likewiſe be ſunk conſiderably; becauſe the lands are to be ſold only teen years purchaſe, and this leſſens the ſum to 1,656,000 *l.*; of which I propoſe twelve hundred ſand pounds to be applied partly for the payment c national debt, and partly as a fund for future exige and the remaining 456,000 *l.* I propoſe as a fund fo ing the preſent ſet of biſhops their fines; which it v bundantly do, and a great part remain as an addition public ſtock.

&c

lthough the biſhops round do not in reality receive
e fines apiece, which take up 21 years, yet I allow it
be ſo; but then I will ſuppoſe them to take but one
r's rent in recompenſe of giving them ſo large a term of
; and thus multiplying 36,800 by 3, the product will
nly 110,400 *l.* ſo that above three fourths will remain
e applied to public uſe.

f I have made wrong computations, I hope to be excu-
as a ſtranger to the kingdom; which I never ſaw till I
called to an employment, and yet where I intend to
the reſt of my days; but I took care to get the beſt
rmations I could, and from the moſt proper perſons;
ever the miſtakes I may have been guilty of will very little
t the main of my propoſal; although they ſhould cauſe
ference of one hundred thouſand pounds more or leſs.
heſe fines are only to be paid to the biſhop during his
mbency in the ſame ſee: if he change it for a bet-
the purchaſers of the vacant ſee lands are to come im-
iately into poſſeſſion of the ſee he hath left; and both
biſhop who is removed, and he who comes into his
e, are to have no more fines; for the removed biſhop
find his account by a larger revenue; and the other
will find candidates enough. For the law-maxim will
have place, *Caveat emptor*; I mean, the perſons who
eed may chuſe whether they will accept or no.

As to the purchaſers, they will probably be tenants to
ſee, who are already in poſſeſſion, and can afford to
more than any other bidder.

I will further explain myſelf. If a perſon already a
op be removed into a richer ſee, he muſt be content
h the bare revenues without any fines; and ſo muſt he
o comes into a biſhopric vacant by death: and this will
ng the matter ſooner to bear; which, if the crown ſhall
nk fit to countenance, will ſoon change the preſent ſet
biſhops; and conſequently encourage purchaſers of their
ds. For example: If a primate ſhould die, and the
adation be wiſely made, almoſt the whole ſet of biſhops
ight be changed in a month, each to his great advantage,
though no fines were to be got; and thereby ſave a great
rt of that ſum which I have appropriated towards ſup-
ying the deficiency of fines.

I have valued the biſhops lands two years
bove the uſual computed rate, becauſe thoſe lan
a ſanction from the King and council in Engla
confirmed by an act of parliament here: beſide
known, that higher prices are given every da
lands, at the remoteſt diſtances, and at rack-r
I take to be occaſioned by want of trade: wh
few borrowers, and the little money in private
dead, there is no other way to diſpoſe of it,
ing of land; which conſequently makes the c
it ſo high.

Beſides paying the nation's debts, the ſale o
would have many other good effects upon the
will conſiderably increaſe the number of gentry
biſhops tenants are not able or willing to purch
lands will afford an hundred gentlemen a goo
each: ſeveral perſons from England will prob
to come over hither, and be the buyers, rath
thirty years purchaſe at home under the loads
the public and the poor, as well as repairs
means much money may be brought among us
bly ſome of the purchaſers themſelves may b
live cheap in a worſe country, rather than be
of exchange and agencies; and perhaps of n
in abſence, if they let their lands too high.

This propoſal will alſo multiply farmers, w
chaſers will have lands in their own power to
eaſy leaſes to induſtrious huſbandmen.

I have allowed ſome biſhoprics, of equal ir
of more or leſs value to the purchaſer, accor
are circumſtanced. For inſtance: The lands c
cy and ſome other ſees are let ſo low, that the
a fifth penny of the real value to the biſhop, a
fines are the greater. On the contrary, the ſe
and Clonfert conſiſting, as I am told, mu
thoſe tithes are annually let to the tenants
fines. So the ſee of Dublin is ſaid to have ma
which pay no fines; and ſome leaſes for live
very little, and not ſo ſoon nor ſo duly.

I cannot but be confident, that their Grac
the Archbiſhops, and my Lords the Biſhops,

in this propoſal out of gratitude to his late and pre-
Majeſty, the beſt of kings, who have beſtowed on
n ſuch high and opulent ſtations; as well as in pity to
country, which is now become their own; whereby
r will be inſtrumental towards paying the nation's debts
hout impoveriſhing themſelves; enrich an hundred gen-
ıen as well as free them from dependency; and thus re-
'e that envy, which is apt to fall upon their Graces and
dſhips from conſiderable perſons, whoſe birth and for-
:s rather qualify them to be lords of manors, than ſer-
dependents upon churchmen, however dignified or diſ-
uiſhed.

f I do not flatter myſelf, there could not be any law
e popular than this. For the immediate tenants to bi-
ıs, being ſome of them perſons of quality and good e-
:s, and more of them grown up to be gentlemen by
profits of theſe very leaſes under a ſucceſſion of bi-
ıs, think it a diſgrace to be ſubject both to rents and
ı at the pleaſure of their landlords. Then, the bulk
:he tenants, eſpecially the *diſſenters*, who are our *true*
l Proteſtant brethren, look upon it both as an unnatu-
and iniquitous thing, that biſhops ſhould be owners of
l at all, (wherein I beg to differ from them), being a
ıt ſo contrary to the practice of the apoſtles, whoſe ſuc-
ors they are deemed to be; and who, although they
e contented that land ſhould be ſold for the common
of the brethren, yet would not buy it themſelves; but
, it laid at their feet to be diſtributed to poor proſelytes.
I will add one word more; that by ſuch a wholeſome
'all the oppreſſions felt by under-tenants of church-lea-
, which are now laid on the biſhops, would entirely be
vented, by their Graces and Lordſhips conſenting to
'e their lands ſold for payment of the nation's debts;
erving only the preſent rent for their own plentiful and
ıourable ſupport.

I beg leave to add one particular; that when heads of
ıill (as I find the ſtyle runs in this kingdom) ſhall be
ıught in for forming this propoſal into a law, I ſhould
mbly offer, that there might be a power given to every
hop, except thoſe who reſide in Dublin, for applying one

hundred

yet ſince I have accepted an employment here of ſ
ſequence as well as profit, I cannot but think myſ
ty bound to conſult the intereſt of people, amo
I have been ſo well received. And if I can b
inſtrumental towards contributing to reduce this
propoſal into a law, (which being not in the leaſt
to England will, I am confident, meet with no
from that ſide), my ſincere endeavours to ſerve t
and kingdom will be well rewarded.

An EXAMINATION of certain ABUSES, CORRUPTIONS, and ENORMITIES, in the city of DUBLIN.

Written in the year 1732.

NOthing is held more commendable in all great cities, eſpecially the metropolis of a kingdom, than what the French call the *police:* by which word is meant the government thereof, to prevent the many diſorders occaſioned by great numbers of people and carriages, eſpecially through narrow ſtreets. In this government our famous city of Dublin is ſaid to be very defective, and univerſally complained of. Many wholeſome laws have been enacted to correct thoſe abuſes, but are ill executed; and many more are wanting; which I hope the united wiſdom of the nation (whereof ſo many good effects have already appeared this ſeſſion) will ſoon take into their profound conſideration.

As I have been always watchful over the good of mine own country, and particularly for that of our renowned city, where *(abſit invidia)* I had the honour to [illegible]w my firſt breath; I cannot have a minute's eaſe or patience, to forbear enumerating ſome of the greateſt enormities, abuſes, and corruptions ſpread almoſt through every part of Dublin; and propoſing ſuch remedies, as I hope the legiſlature will approve of.

The narrow compaſs to which I have confined myſelf in this paper, will allow me only to touch the moſt important defects; and ſuch as I think ſeem to require the moſt ſpeedy redreſs.

And firſt, perhaps there was never known a wiſer inſtitution, than that of allowing certain perſons of both ſexes in large and populous cities to cry through the ſtreets many neceſſaries of life: it would be endleſs to recount the conveniencies which our city enjoys by this uſeful invention; and particularly ſtrangers forced hither by buſi-

neſs,

neſs, who reſide here but a ſhort time: for theſe, havin uſually but little money, and being wholly ignorant of th town, might at an eaſy price purchaſe a tolerable dinne if the ſeveral criers would pronounce the names of th goods they have to ſell in any tolerable language. An therefore, until our law-makers ſhall think it proper to i terpoſe ſo far as to make thoſe traders pronounce the words in ſuch terms, that a plain Chriſtian hearer m comprehend what is cried, I would adviſe all new come to look out at their garret-windows, and there ſee wheth the thing that is cried be *tripes* or *ſlummery*, *butter-mi* or *cow-heels*. For as things are now managed, how is poſſible for an honeſt countryman juſt arrived to find o what is meant, for inſtance, by the following words, wi which his ears are conſtantly ſtunned twice a-day, *mug jugs, and porringers, up in the garret, and down in t cellar;* I ſay, how is it poſſible for any ſtranger to unde ſtand, that this jargon is meant as an invitation to buy farthing's worth of milk for his breakfaſt or ſupper, unle his curioſity draws him to the window, or until his lan lady ſhall inform him? I produce this only as one inſtanc among a hundred much worſe, I mean, where the wor make a ſound wholly inarticulate, which give ſo muc diſturbance, and ſo little information.

The affirmation ſolemnly made in the cry of *herring* is directly againſt all truth and probability; *herrings aliv alive here:* the very proverb will convince us of this; fo what is more frequent in ordinary ſpeech, than to ſay o ſome neighbour for whom the paſſing-bell rings, that *he i dead as a herring?* And pray how is it poſſible, that *herring*, which, as *philoſophers* obſerve, cannot live longe than one minute three ſeconds and a half out of water ſhould bear a voyage in open boats from Howth to Dublin be toſſed into twenty hands, and preſerve its life in ſieve for ſeveral hours? nay, we have witneſſes ready to pro duce, that many thouſands of theſe *herrings*, ſo impudent ly aſſerted to be alive, have been a day and a night upo dry land. But this is not the worſt. What can we thin of thoſe impious wretches, who dare in the face of th ſun vouch the very ſame affirmative of their *ſalmon*, an cry *ſalmon alive, alive?* whereas, if you call the woma

o cries it, ſhe is not aſhamed to turn back her mantle,
l ſhew you this individual *ſalmon* cut into a dozen
ces. I have given good advice to theſe infamous diſ-
cers of their ſex and calling, without the leaſt appear-
e of remorſe, and fully againſt the conviction of their
l conſciences; I have mentioned this grievance to ſe-
l of our pariſh miniſters; but all in vain: ſo that it
l continue, until the government ſhall think fit to in-
oſe.

here is another *cry*, which, from the ſtricteſt obſerva-
I can make, appears to be very modern, and it is that
weet hearts *; and is plainly intended for a reflection
the female ſex; as if there were at preſent ſo great
arth of lovers, that the women, inſtead of receiving
ats from men, were now forced to offer money to
iaſe *ſweet hearts*. Neither am I ſure, that this *cry*
not glance at ſome diſaffection againſt the govern-
; inſinuating, that while ſo many of our troops are
ged in foreign ſervice, and ſuch a great number of our
at officers conſtantly reſide in England, the ladies are
d to take up with *parſons* and *attorneys*: but this is
ſt unjuſt reflection, as may ſoon be proved by any
n who frequents the *caſtle*, our public walks, our balls
ſſemblies; where the crouds of *toupees* † were never
n to ſwarm as they do at preſent.

here is a *cry* peculiar to this city, which I do not re-
ber to have been uſed in London; or at leaſt, not in
me terms that it hath been practiſed by both parties,
g each of their power, but very unjuſtly by the *Tories*.
le theſe were at the helm, they grew daily more and
impatient to put all true *Whigs* and *Hanoverians* out
nployments: to effect which, they hired certain or-
y fellows with large baſkets on their ſhoulders to call
l at every houſe, *Dirt to carry out*; giving that deno-
tion to our whole party; as if they would ſignify,
the kingdom could never be *cleanſed*, until we were
t from the earth like *rubbiſh*. But ſince that happy

* A ſort of ſugar-cakes in the ſhape of hearts.

† A new name for a modern periwig with a long black tail, for its owner; now in faſhion, Dec. 1. 1733.

turn of times, when we were ſo *miraculouſly* preſerved by juſt an *inch* from *Popery*, *ſlavery*, *maſſacre*, and the *pretender*, I muſt own it is prudence in us ſtill to go on with the ſame *cry*; which hath ever ſince been ſo effectually obſerved, that the true *political dirt* is wholly removed, and thrown on its proper dunghills, there to corrupt and be no more heard of.

But to proceed to other enormities: Every perſon who walks the ſtreets, muſt needs obſerve an immenſe number of human excrements at the doors and ſteps of waſte houſes, and at the ſides of every dead wall; for which the diſaffected party hath aſſigned a very falſe and malicious cauſe: they would have it, that theſe heaps were laid there privately by Britiſh *fundaments* to make the world believe, that our Iriſh vulgar do daily eat and drink; and conſequently that the clamour of poverty among us muſt be falſe, proceeding only from *Jacobites* and *Papiſts*. They would confirm this by pretending to obſerve, that a Britiſh *anus* being more narrowly perforated than one of our own country, and many of theſe excrements, upon a ſtrict view, appearing couple-crowned with a point like a cone or pyramid, are eaſily diſtinguiſhed from the Hibernian, which lie much flatter and with leſs continuity. I communicated this conjecture to an eminent phyſician, who is well verſed in ſuch profound ſpeculations; and at my requeſt was pleaſed to make trial with each of his fingers, by thruſting them into the *anus* of ſeveral perſons of both nations, and profeſſed he could find no ſuch difference between them as thoſe ill-diſpoſed people alledge. On the contrary, he aſſured me, that much the greater number of narrow cavities were of Hibernian origin. This I only mention, to ſhew how ready the *Jacobites* are to lay hold of any handle to expreſs their malice againſt the government. I had almoſt forgot to add, that my friend the phyſician could by ſmelling each finger diſtinguiſh the Hibernian excrement from the Britiſh, and was not above twice miſtaken in an hundred experiments; upon which he intends very ſoon to publiſh a learned diſſertation.

There is a diverſion in this city, which uſually begins among the *butchers*; but is often continued by a ſucceſſion of other people through many ſtreets; it is called the

COSSING

G *of a dog:* and I may juſtly number it among
ıptions. The ceremony is thus: A ſtrange dog
to paſs through a fleſh-market; whereupon an ex-
ther immediately cries in a loud voice and the pro-
, *Coſs, coſs*, ſeveral times. The ſame word is
by the people. The dog, who perfectly under-
ıe terms of art, and conſequently the danger he
mediately flies. The people, and even his own
nimals, purſue: the purſuit and cry attend him
half a mile; he is well worried in his flight; and
:s hardly eſcapes. This our ill-wiſhers of the
kind are pleaſed to call a *perſecution*; and affirm,
lways falls upon *dogs* of the *Tory* principle. But
well defend ourſelves by juſtly alledging, that,
ey were uppermoſt, they treated our *dogs* full as
:ly. As to my own part, who have in former
en attended theſe *proceſſions*, although I can very
nguiſh between a *Whig* and *Tory* dog, yet I never
ıy reſentment very far from a *party-principle*, ex-
ere againſt certain malicious *dogs*, who moſt diſ-
their enmity againſt us in the *worſt of times* *. And
ber too well, that in the wicked miniſtry of the
Oxford a large maſtiff of our party, being unmer-
ſſed, ran without thinking between my legs, as I
ng up Fiſhamble-ſtreet; and as I am of low ſta-
very ſhort legs, bore me riding backwards down
ır above two hundred yards: and although I made
s tail for a bridle, holding it faſt with both my
nd clung my legs as cloſe to his ſides as I could;
ɔoth came down together into the middle of the
where after rolling three or four times over each
got up with much ado amidſt the ſhouts and huz-
thouſand malicious *Jacobites*. I cannot indeed
fully acknowledge, that for this and many other
nd *ſufferings* † I have been ſince more than over-

ıdventure may perhaps have put me out of love

t word uſed by the Whigs for the four laſt years of
ne's reign, during the Earl of Oxford's miniſtry.
ıe apology for the Tale of a Tub, vol. 1.

are hired by *our enemies* to ſculk in the tops of
with their heads no higher than will juſt perm
look round; and at the uſual hours when memb
ing to the houſe, if they ſee a coach ſtand near t
of any *loyal* member, they call, *Coach, coach,*
they can bawl, juſt at the inſtant when the foot
to give the ſame call. And this is chiefly don
days when any point of importance is to be deba
practice may be of very dangerous conſequence;
boys are all hired by enemies to the government
by the abſence of a few members for a few minu
ſion may be carried againſt the *true intereſt* of
dom, and very probably not without an eye t
pretender.

I have not obſerved the wit and fancy of thi
much employed in any one article, as that of co
riety of ſigns to hang over houſes, where *punch* is
The bowl is repreſented full of *punch*, the l
ereſt in the middle, ſupported ſometimes by one
times by two animals, whoſe feet reſt upon the
bowl. Theſe animals are ſometimes one black
ſometimes a couple; ſometimes a ſingle *eagle,*
times a ſpread one; and we often meet a *crow,*
bear, or a *cock*, in the ſame poſture.

in his gueſts; which however to my knowledge is not ue in fact; not one of thoſe birds being a proper com- nion for a *Chriſtian*, as to aiding and aſſiſting in making ie *punch*. For as they are drawn upon the ſign, they are uch more likely to mute, or ſhed their feathers into the quor. Then as to the *bear*, he is too terrible, awkward, id ſlovenly a companion to converſe with; neither are ny of them all *handy* enough to fill liquor to the com- any; I do therefore vehemently ſuſpect a *plot* intended gainſt the government by theſe devices. For although the *read-eagle* be the arms of Germany, upon which account may poſſibly be a lawful *Proteſtant* ſign, yet I who am ery ſuſpicious of fair outſides in a matter which ſo near- y concerns our welfare, cannot but call to mind, that the *retender's* wife is ſaid to be of German birth; and that any *Popiſh* princes in ſo vaſt an extent of land are reported o excel both at making and drinking *punch*: beſides it is lain, that the *ſpread eagle* exhibits to us the perfect figure of a *croſs*; which is a badge of *Popery*. Then as to the *cock*, ie is well known to repreſent the French nation, our old and dangerous enemy. The *ſwan*, who muſt of neceſſity co- ver the entire bowl with his wings, can be no other than the Spaniard, who endeavours to ingroſs all the treaſures of the Indies to himſelf. The *lion* is indeed the common emblem of royal power, as well as the arms of England; but to paint him black is perfect *Jacobitiſm*, and a manifeſt type of thoſe who *blacken* the actions of the beſt princes. It is not eaſy to diſtinguiſh, whether that other fowl paint- ed over the *punch-bowl* be a *crow* or a *raven*. It is true, they have both been ominous birds: but I rather take it to be the former; becauſe it is the diſpoſition of a *crow* to pick out the eyes of other creatures; and often even of *Chriſtians*, after they are dead; and is therefore drawn here with a deſign to put the *Jacobites* in mind of their old practice, firſt to lull us aſleep, (which is an emblem of death) and then to blind our eyes, that we may not ſee their dangerous practices againſt the ſtate.

To ſpeak my private opinion: The leaſt offenſive picture in the whole ſet ſeems to be the *bear*; becauſe he repre- ſents *urſa major*, or the *great bear*, who preſides over the *north*, where the *reformation* firſt began; and which, next

to Britain (including Scotland and the north of Ireland) is the great protector of the *true Proteſtant religion*. But however in thoſe ſigns, where I obſerve the *bear* to be *chained*, I cannot help ſurmiſing a *Jacobite* contrivance by which theſe traitors hint an earneſt deſire of uſing all *true Whigs*, as their predeceſſors did the primitive Chriſtians: I mean, to repreſent us as *bears*, and then hallo their *Tory-dogs* to bait us to death.

Thus I have given a fair account of what I diſlike in all the ſigns ſet over thoſe houſes that invite us to *punch*. My own it was a matter that did not need explaining, being ſo very obvious to common underſtanding; yet I know not how it happens, but methinks there ſeems a fatal blindneſs to overſpread our corporeal eyes, as well as our intellectual; and I heartily wiſh, I may be found a falſe prophet. For theſe are not bare ſuſpicions, but manifeſt demonſtrations.

Therefore, away with theſe *Popiſh Jacobites*, and idolatrous gewgaws. And I heartily wiſh a law were enacted under ſevere penalties againſt drinking *punch* at all; for nothing is eaſier, than to prove it a diſaffected liquor: the chief ingredients, which are *brandy*, *oranges*, and *lemons*, are all ſent us from *Popiſh* countries; and nothing remains of *Proteſtant* growth but *ſugar* and *water*. For as to biſcuit, which formerly was held a neceſſary ingredient, and is truly Britiſh, we find it is entirely rejected.

But I will put the truth of my aſſertion paſt all doubt: I mean, that this liquor is by one important innovation grown of ill example, and dangerous conſequence to the public. It is well known, that by the true original inſtitution of making *punch* left us by Captain Ratcliff, the ſharpneſs is only occaſioned by the juice of *lemons*; and ſo continued until after the happy *revolution*. *Oranges*, alas! are a mere innovation, and in a manner *but of yeſterday*. It was the politics of *Jacobites* to introduce them gradually; and to what intent? the thing ſpeaks itſelf. It was cunningly to ſhew their virulence againſt his Sacred Majeſty King William *of ever glorious and immortal memory*. But of late (to ſhew how faſt diſloyalty increaſeth) they came from one to two, and then to three *oranges*; nay at preſent we often find *punch* made all with *oranges*, and not one ſingle *lemon*. For the Jacobites, before the death of

W

ıortal prince, had by a ſuperſtition formed a pri-
yer, that as they *ſqueezed* the *orange*, ſo might
›teſtant King be *ſqueezed* to death; according to
ʋn *ſorcery* deſcribed by Virgil;

ıs ut hic dureſcit, et hæc ut cera liqueſcit, &c.

s the Romans, when they ſacrificed an ox, uſed this
prayer: *As I knock down this ox, ſo mayſt thou, O
! knock down our enemies.* In like manner, after
illiam's death, whenever a *Jacobite ſqueezed* an
he had a mental curſe upon the *glorious memory*, and
wiſh for power to *ſqueeze* all his Majeſty's friends
ı, as he *ſqueezed* that *orange*, which bore one of
ı, as he was Prince of Orange. This I do affirm
ı, many of that faction having confeſſed it to me
ı *oath of ſecrecy*, which however I thought it my
: to keep, when I ſaw my dear country in danger.
ıt better can be expected from an *impious* ſet of
ıo never ſcruple to drink CONFUSION to all *true
nts* under the name of *Whig?* A moſt unchriſtian
ıman practice; *which, to our great honour and
was* never *charged upon us, even by our moſt ma-
'etractors.*

ſign of two *angels* hovering in the air, and with
ht hands ſupporting a *crown*, is met with in ſeve-
of this city; and hath often given me great offence:
ether by the unſkilfulneſs or dangerous principles
ainters, (although I have good reaſon to ſuſpect the
hoſe *angels* are uſually drawn with ſuch horrid, or
ather diabolical *countenances*, that they give great
to every loyal eye, and equal cauſe of triumph to
obites, being a moſt infamous reflection upon our
excellent miniſtry.

return to that great enormity of city-*cries*; moſt
ı we have borrowed from London. I ſhall con-
n only in a *political* view, as they nearly affect
e and ſafety of both kingdoms; and having been
y contrived by wicked Machiavels to bring in *Pope-
'ry*, and *arbitrary power* by defeating the *Prote-
:ceſſion*, and introducing the *pretender*, ought in
ı be here laid open to the world.

About

to make the ſwearing to thoſe princes odious in the people. To this end, they hired certain ill fame, but loud ſhrill voices, under pretence ſith, to go through the ſtreets with ſieves on and cry, *Buy my ſoul, buy my ſoul*; plainly that all thoſe who ſwore to King William, were to ſell their ſouls for an employment. This vived at the death of Queen Anne, and, I hear tinues in London with much offence to all *true* but to our great happineſs ſeems to be almoſt d blin.

But becauſe I altogether contemn the diſ reſentment of *high-fliers*, *Tories*, and *Jacobi* look upon to be *worſe even than profeſſed P* here declare, that thoſe evils which I am going were all brought in upon us in the *worſt of tim* late Earl of Oxford's adminiſtration, during years of Queen Anne's reign. *That wicked* ſ *univerſally known to be a Papiſt in his heart, of a moſt avaritious nature, and is ſaid to have four millions* Sterling, *beſides his vaſt expenſe ſtatues, plate, jewels, and other coſtly rarities of a mean obſcure birth, from the very dregs o and ſo illiterate, that he could hardly read a council-table. I forbear to touch on his open t*

:h a manner as would beſt anſwer his ends. And eas it was upon good grounds grievouſly ſuſpected, all *places* at court were ſold to the higheſt bidder; n women were employed by his emiſſaries to carry *fiſh* ſkets on their heads, and bawl through the ſtreets, *Buy reſh places*. I muſt indeed own that other women u- ıe ſame cry, who were innocent of this wicked deſign, eally ſold fiſh of that denomination to get an honeſt ıood; but the reſt, who were in the ſecret, although :arried *fiſh* in their ſieves or baſkets to ſave appearances, ıey had likewiſe a certain ſign, ſomewhat reſembling of the *free maſons*, which the purchaſers of *places* well enough, and were directed by the women, whi- they were to reſort and make their purchaſe. And ıember very well how oddly it looked, when we ob- d many gentlemen finely dreſſed about the court-end of own, and as far as York-buildings, where the Lord ſurer Oxford dwelt, calling the women who cried, *Buy reſh places*, and talking to them in the corner of a :, until they underſtood each other's ſign. But we : could obſerve, that any fiſh was bought.

me years before the cries laſt mentioned, the Duke ıvoy was reported to have made certain overtures to ourt of England for admitting his eldeſt ſon by the ieſs of Orleans's daughter to ſucceed to the crown, as heir, upon the *pretender*'s being rejected; and that vas immediately to turn *Proteſtant*. It was confident- ported, that great numbers of people diſaffected to the *Illuſtrious*, but now *Royal* houſe of Hanover, were ıoſe meaſures. Whereupon another ſet of women :hired by the *Jacobite* leaders to cry through the whole ı, *Buy my* ſavoys, *dainty* ſavoys, *curious* ſavoys. But ınot directly charge the late Earl of Oxford with this *iracy*, becauſe he was not then chief miniſter. How- , this wicked cry ſtill continues in London, and was ght over hither, where it remains to this day; and is, y humble opinion, a very offenſive ſound to every true *teſtant*, who is old enough to remember thoſe *danger*- imes.

luring the miniſtry of that corrupt and *Jacobite* Earl a- : mentioned, the ſecret pernicious deſign of thoſe in

power

power was to ſell Flanders to France: the conſequence of which muſt have been the infallible ruin of the States-General, and would have opened the way for France to obtain that univerſal monarchy they have ſo long aimed at, to which the Britiſh dominions muſt next after Holland have been compelled to ſubmit, whereby the *Proteſtant* religion would be rooted out of the world.

A deſign of this vaſt importance, after long conſultation among the *Jacobite* grandees with the Earl of Oxford at their head, was at laſt determined to be carried on by the ſame method with the former: it was therefore again put in practice; but the conduct of it was chiefly left to chair men, whoſe voices were louder and ſtronger than thoſe of the other ſex: and upon this occaſion was firſt inſtituted in London that famous cry of FLOUNDERS. But the criers were particularly directed to pronounce the word *flaunders* and not *flounders*. For the country which we now by corruption call Flanders, is in its true orthography ſpelt *Flaunders*, as may be obvious to all who read old Engliſh books. I ſay, from hence begun that thundering cry which hath ever ſince ſtunned the ears of all London, maims ſo many children fall into fits, and women miſcarry; *Come buy my freſh* flaunders, *curious* flaunders, *charming* flaunders, *alive, alive, ho!* which laſt words can with no propriety of ſpeech be applied to fiſh manifeſtly dead, (as obſerved before in *herrings* and *ſalmon*), but very juſt to ten provinces containing many millions of living *Chriſtians*. But the application is ſtill cloſer, when we conſider that all the people were to be taken like *fiſhes* in a net; and by aſſiſtance of the *Pope*, who ſets up to be the *univerſal fiſher of men*, the whole innocent nation was, according to our common expreſſion, to be *laid as flat as a flounder*.

I remember myſelf a particular crier of *flounders* in London, who arrived at ſo much fame for the loudneſs of his voice, as to have the honour of being mentioned upon that account in a comedy. He hath diſturbed me many a morning, before he came within fifty doors of my lodging: and although I were not in thoſe days ſo fully appriſed of the deſigns which our common enemy had then in agitation, yet, I know not how, by a ſecret inſtinct

lſe, young as I was, I could not forbear conceiving a ong diſlike againſt the fellow; and often ſaid to myſelf, *his cry ſeems to be forged in the* Jeſuits *ſchool: alas, poor* igland! *I am grievouſly miſtaken, if there be not ſome* piſh *plot at the bottom.* I communicated my thoughts an intimate friend, who reproached me with being too ionary in my ſpeculations: but it proved afterwards, at I conjectured right. And I have ſince reflected, that the wicked faction could have procured only a thouſand n of as ſtrong lungs as the fellow I mentioned, none can l how terrible the conſequences might have been, not ly to theſe two kingdoms, but over all Europe, by ſelling nders to France. And yet theſe cries continue unpu-hed both in London and Dublin; although, I confeſs, t with equal vehemency or loudneſs; becauſe the reaſon contriving this deſperate plot is, to our great felicity, olly ceaſed.

It is well known, that the majority of the Britiſh houſe Commons in the laſt years of Queen Anne's reign were their hearts directly oppoſite to the Earl of Oxford's nicious meaſures; which put him under the neceſſity of bing them with ſalaries. Whereupon he had again re-rſe to his old politics. And accordingly his emiſſa-s were very buſy in employing certain artful women, of good life and converſation, (as it was proved before tice * Peyton), to cry that vegetable commonly called *ſery* through the town. Theſe women differ from the mmon criers of that herb by ſome private mark, which could never learn; but the matter was notorious e-ugh, and ſufficiently talked of; and about the ſame riod was the cry of *ſellery* brought over into this king-m But ſince there is not at this preſent the leaſt occa-n to ſuſpect the loyalty of our criers upon that article, m content that it may ſtill be tolerated.

I ſhall mention but one cry more, which hath any re-rence to politics; but is indeed of all others the moſt ſolent, as well as treaſonable, under our preſent happy abliſhment; I mean that of *turnups*; not of *turnips*, cording to the beſt orthography, but abſolutely *turnups*.

* A famous Whig juſtice in thoſe times.

Although

Although the cry be of an older date than ſome of the preceding enormities, for it began ſoon after the revolution; yet was it never known to arrive at ſo great a height, as during the Earl of Oxford's power. Some people (whom I take to be private enemies) are indeed ready as myſelf to profeſs their diſapprobation of this cry, on pretence, that it began by the contrivance of certain old procureſſes, who kept houſes of ill fame, where lewd women met to draw young men into vice. And this they pretend to prove by ſome words in the cry; becauſe, after the crier had bawled out, *Turnups, ho, buy my dainty turnups*, he would ſometimes add the two following *verſes*.

Turn up the miſtreſs, and turn up the maid,
And turn up the daughter, and be not afraid.

This, ſay ſome political ſophiſts, plainly ſhews, that there can be nothing farther meant in ſo infamous a cry than an invitation to lewdneſs; which indeed ought to be ſeverely puniſhed in all well-regulated governments; yet cannot be fairly interpreted as a crime of ſtate. But I hope we are not ſo weak and blind to be deluded at this time of day with ſuch poor evaſions. I could, if it were proper, demonſtrate the very time when thoſe two verſes were compoſed, and name the author, who was no other than the famous Mr Swan ſo well known for his talent at quibbling, and was as virulent a *Jacobite* as any in England. Neither could he deny the fact, when he was taxed for it in my preſence, by Sir Henry Dutton-Colt, and Colonel Davenport, at the Smyrna coffeehouſe, on the 10th of June 1701. Thus, it appears to a demonſtration, that thoſe verſes were only a blind to conceal the moſt dangerous deſigns of the party; who, from the firſt years after the happy revolution, uſed a cant way of talking day in their clubs, after this manner: *We hope to ſee the cards ſhuffled once more, and another King* TURN *trumph*: and, *When ſhall we meet over a diſh of* TURNUP. The ſame term of art was uſed in their plots againſt the government, and in their treaſonable letters written in ciphers, and decyphered by the famous Dr Willes, as you may read in the trials of thoſe times. This I thought fit to ſet forth at large, and in ſo clear a light; becauſe the Scots

otch and French authors have given a very different ac-
unt of the word TURNUP; but whether out of igno-
nce or partiality, I ſhall not decree; becauſe, I am ſure,
e reader is convinced by my diſcovery. It is to be ob-
rved, that this cry was ſung in a particular manner by
llows in diſguiſe to give notice, where thoſe traitors were
meet in order to concert their villanous deſigns.

I have no more to add upon this article, than an hum-
e propoſal, that thoſe who cry this root at preſent in our
reets of Dublin may be compelled by the juſtices of the
ace to pronounce *turnip*, and not *turnup*; for, I am a-
aid, we have ſtill too many ſnakes in our boſom, and it
ould be well if their cellars were ſometimes ſearched, when
e owners leaſt expect it; for I am not out of fear, that
let anguis in herba.

Thus we are zealous in matters of ſmall moment, while
e neglect thoſe of the higheſt importance. I have already
ade it manifeſt, that all theſe cries were contrived in the
rſt of times, under the miniſtry of that deſperate ſtateſ-
an Robert late Earl of Oxford; and for that very reaſon
ght to be rejected with horror, as begun in the reign of
cobites, and may well be numbered among the rags of
opery and *treaſon*; or, if it be thought proper that theſe
ics muſt continue, ſurely they ought to be only truſted
the hands of *true Proteſtants*, who have given ſecurity
the government.

A LETTER from a member of the houſe Commons in Ireland, to a member of t houſe of Commons in England, concerni the SACRAMENTAL TEST.

Written in the year 1708*.

SIR,

I Received your letter, wherein you tell me of ſtrange repreſentations made of us on your ſide of water. The inſtance you are pleaſed to mention is t of the *Preſbyterian miſſionary*, who, according to y phr

* In the 2d volume of Dr Swift's and Mr Pope's miſcellan I found the following treatiſe, which had been printed in L don, with ſome other of the Dean's works, many years bef but at firſt came out by itſelf in the year 1708, as the t thews: and it was at a juncture, when the Diſſenters were deavouring to repeal the ſacramental teſt, as, by common fa and ſome pamphlets publiſhed to the ſame purpoſe, they ſeem t now again attempting, with great hope of ſucceſs. I have th fore taken the liberty to make an extract out of that diſcou omitting only ſome paſſages, which relate to certain perſons, are of no conſequence to the argument. But the author's of reaſoning ſeems at preſent to have more weight than it ha thoſe times when the diſcourſe firſt appeared.——The aut in this letter, perſonates a member of parliament here, to a m ber of parliament in England.---------The Speaker mentione this letter, was Allen Broderick, afterwards Chancellor and I Middleton; and the Prelate was Dr Lindſay, afterwards Prim *Dub. edit.* 1735.

This tract was reprinted in Ireland in 1735, when the atte to repeal the ſacramental teſt was revived. There was an ex natory advertiſement prefixed, which is ſaid by Lord Orrer have been dictated, or ſtrictly reviſed, by the Dean himſelf: there are inaccuracies in it, which may well be thought ſuffic to deſtroy its authenticity: that which in the firſt paragrap called the *following treatiſe* is afterwards ſaid to be an *extract*

diſco

haſe, hath been lately *perſecuted* at Drogheda for his eligion: but it is eaſy to obſerve, how mighty induſtrius ſome people have been for three or four years paſt, to and about ſtories of the hardſhips, the merits, the numer, and the power of the *Preſbyterians* in Ireland, to aiſe formidable ideas of the dangers of *Popery* there, and o tranſmit all for England, improved by great additions, nd with ſpecial care to have them inſerted with comments thoſe infamous weekly papers that infeſt your coffeeouſes. So, when the clauſe enacting a *ſacramental teſt* as put in execution, it was given out in England, that alf the juſtices of peace through this kingdom had laid own their commiſſions: whereas, upon examination, the hole number was found to amount only to a dozen or irteen, and thoſe generally of the loweſt rate in fortune nd underſtanding, and ſome of them ſuperannuated. So, hen the Earl of Pembroke was in Ireland, and the parliaent ſitting, a formal ſtory was very gravely carried to is Excellency by ſome zealous members, of a prieſt newy arrived from abroad to the north-weſt parts of Ireland, ho had publicly preached to his people to fall a-murthering the Proteſtants; which, though invented to ſerve an nd they were then upon, and are ſtill driving at, was refently handed over, and printed with ſhrewd remarks y your worthy ſcribblers. In like manner the account of at perſon who was lately expelled our univerſity for reecting on the memory of King William; what a duſt it aiſed, and how foully it was related, is freſh enough in

diſcourſe, and it is immediately added, that this *extract* is the *whole*, except ſome paſſages of no conſequence: theſe are included within crotchets. *Hawkeſ.*

Swift held the Diſſenters in the utmoſt degree of ridicule and deteſtation. He had an openneſs in his diſpoſition, and a frankneſs in his conduct, that bore an abhorrence to all kind of reſerve.-------To ſuch a diſpoſition it is impoſſible that the gravity of Nonconformiſts could be agreeable. The diſlike was mutual in both ſides. Dr Swift hated all fanatics: all fanatics hated Dr Swift. This piece is particularly written againſt *repealing the teſt act*: and whoever conſiders himſelf related to the kingdom of Ireland, will find in it ſome arguments of weight and conſideration, in caſe any ſuch repeal ſhould ever be attempted there. *Orrery.*

memory. Neither would people be convinced till the un
verſity was at the pains of publiſhing a Latin paper to juſt
fy themſelves. And, to mention no more, this ſtory of t
perſecution at Drogheda, how it hath been ſpread and a
gravated, what conſequences have been drawn from
and what reproaches fixed on thoſe who have leaſt deſ
ved them, we are already informed. Now, if the end
all this proceeding were a ſecret and myſtery, I ſhould n
pretend to give it an interpretation; but ſufficient care ha
been taken to explain it, *firſt*, by addreſſes artificially
not illegally) procured, to ſhew the miſerable ſtate of t
Diſſenters in Ireland by reaſon of the *ſacramental te*
and to deſire the Queen's intereceſſion that it might be
pealed. *Then*, it is manifeſt, that our Speaker *, wh
he was laſt year in England, ſolicited in perſon ſeve
members of both houſes to have it repealed by an act the
though it be a matter purely national, that cannot poſſi
interfere with the trade and intereſt of England; and thou
he himſelf appeared formerly the moſt zealous of all m
againſt the injuſtice of binding a nation by laws to whi
they do not conſent. And, *laſtly*, thoſe weekly libelle
whenever they get a tale by the end relating to Irela
without once troubling their thoughts about the truth,
ways end it with an application againſt the *ſacramental t*
and the abſolute neceſſity there is of repealing it in b
kingdoms. I know it may be reckoned a weakneſs to
any thing of ſuch trifles as are below a ſerious man's
tice; much leſs would I diſparage the underſtanding of
ny party, to think they would chuſe the vileſt and moſt
norant among mankind, to employ them for the aſſertors
a cauſe. I ſhall only ſay, that the ſcandalous liberty th
wretches take, would hardly be allowed, if it were
mingled with opinions that *ſome men* would be glad to
vance. Beſides, how inſipid ſoever thoſe papers are, t
ſeem to be levelled to the underſtandings of a great numb
they are grown a neceſſary part in coffeehouſe-furnitu
and ſome time or other may happen to be read by cuſto
ers of all ranks for curioſity and amuſement, becauſe t

* Mr Allen Broderick, afterwards Chancellor of Ireland, a
Lord Middleton.

he always in the way. One of theſe authors (the fellow that was *pilloried*, I have forgot his name *) is indeed ſo grave, ſententious, dogmatical a rogue, that there is no enduring him; the *Obſervator* † is much the briſker of the two, and I think farther gone of late in lies and impudence than his *Preſbyterian* brother. [The reaſon why I mention him is to have an occaſion of letting you know, that you have not dealt ſo gallantly with us, as we did with you in a parallel caſe: Laſt year a paper was brought here from England, called *A dialogue between the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *and* Mr Higgins, which we ordered to be burnt by the common hangman, as it well deſerved, though we have no more to do with his Grace of Canterbury ‡, than you have with the Archbiſhop of Dublin; nor can you love and reverence your prelate more than we do ours, whom you tamely ſuffer to be abuſed openly, and by name, by that paltry raſcal of an *Obſervator*; and lately upon an affair wherein he had no concern; I mean the buſineſs of the *miſſionary* of Drogheda, wherein our excellent *primate* was engaged, and did nothing but according to law and diſcretion. But becauſe the Lord Archbiſhop of Dublin ‖ hath been upon ſeveral occaſions, of late years, miſrepreſented in England, I would willingly ſet you right in his character. For his great ſufferings and eminent ſervices, he was by the late King promoted to the ſee of Derry. About the ſame time he wrote a book to juſtify the revolution, wherein was an account of King James's proceedings in Ireland; and the late Archbiſhop Tillotſon recommended it to the King as the moſt ſerviceable treatiſe that

* The fellow that was pilloried, was Daniel *Defoe*, whoſe name Swift well knew and remembered; but the circumſtance of the pillory was to be introduced; and the manner of introducing it, ſhews great art in the niceſt touches of ſatire, and carries all the marks of ridicule, indignation, and contempt. The ſcoffs and ſarcaſms of Swift, like the bite of the rattle ſnake, ſtillinguiſh themſelves more venomouſly dangerous, than the wounds of a common ſerpent. *Carey.*

He was pilloried for a tract, called, *The ſhorteſt way with the Diſſenters.*

† Mr John Tutchin. ‡ Dr Thomas Tenniſon.

‖ Dr *William King.*

could have been publiſhed at ſuch a juncture. And as Grace ſet out upon thoſe principles, he has proceeded ſ ver ſince, as a loyal ſubject to the Queen, entirely for ſucceſſion in the Proteſtant line, and for ever excluding *pretender;* and though a firm friend to the church, with indulgence towards Diſſenters, as appears from conduct at Derry, where he was ſettled for many year mong the moſt virulent of the ſect, yet upon his rem to Dublin they parted from him with tears in their e and univerſal acknowledgments of his wiſdom and g neſs. For the reſt, it muſt be owned, he does not l himſelf by entering deep into any party, but rather ſp his time in acts of hoſpitality and charity, in buildin churches, repairing his palace, in introducing and pr ring the worthieſt perſons he can find, without othe gards; in ſhort, in the practice of all virtues, that ca come a public or private life. This and more, if poſſ is due to ſo excellent a perſon, who may be juſtly rec ed among the greateſt and moſt learned prelates of this however his character may be defiled by ſuch mean and ty hands as thoſe of the *Obſervator*, or ſuch as em him.]

I now come to anſwer the other part of your letter, ſhall give you my opinion freely about repealing the *cramental teſt;* only whereas you deſire my thou as a friend, and not as I am a member of parliame muſt aſſure you they are exactly the ſame in both ca ties.

I muſt begin by telling you, we are generally ſurp at your wonderful kindneſs to us on this occaſion, i ing ſo very induſtrious to teach us to ſee our intereſts point where we are ſo unable to ſee it ourſelves. hath given us ſome ſuſpicion; and though, in my own ticular I am hugely bent to believe, that whenever concern yourſelves in our affairs, it is certainly *for good,* yet I have the misfortune to be ſomething ſingul this belief, and therefore I never attempt to juſtify it, content myſelf to poſſeſs my own opinion in private, fear of encountering men of more wit or words than I to ſpare.

We at this diſtance, who ſee nothing of the ſpring of tions, are forced by mere conjecture to aſſign two reaſons r your deſiring us to repeal the *ſacramental teſt*; one , becauſe you are ſaid to imagine it will be a ſtep towards e like *good work in* England. The other more immedi- e, that it will open a way for rewarding *ſeveral perſons*, ho have well deſerved upon a *great occaſion*, but who e now unqualified through that impediment.

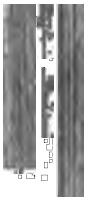
I do not frequently quote poets, eſpecially Engliſh: but remember there is in ſome of Mr Cowley's love-verſes a rain, that I thought extraordinary at fifteen, and have ften ſince imagined it to be ſpoken by Ireland,

Forbid it, heaven, my life ſhould be
Weigh'd with her leaſt conveniency.

In ſhort, whatever advantage you propoſe to yourſelves y repealing the *ſacramental teſt*, ſpeak it out plainly, it the beſt argument you can uſe, for we value your inter- t much more than our own; if your little finger be ſore, nd you think a poultice made of our *vitals* will give it a- y eaſe, ſpeak the word, and it ſhall be done: the inter- t of our whole kingdom is at any time ready to ſtrike to hat of your pooreſt *fiſhing-towns*; it is hard you will not ccept our ſervices, unleſs we believe at the ſame time, that ou are only conſulting our profit, and giving us marks of our love. If there be a fire at ſome diſtance, and I im- ediately blow up my houſe before there be occaſion, be- auſe you are a man of quality, and apprehend ſome dan- er to a *corner of your ſtable*; yet why ſhould you re- uire me to attend next morning at your levee, with my umble thanks for the favour you have done me?

If we might be allowed to judge for ourſelves, we had bundance of benefit by the *ſacramental teſt*, and foreſee number of miſchiefs would be the conſequence of repeal- ng it; and we conceive the objections made againſt it by he *Diſſenters* are of no manner of force. They tell us of heir merits in the late war in Ireland, and how chearfully hey engaged for the ſafety of the nation; that if they had hought they had been fighting only other people's quarrels, perhaps it might have cooled their zeal; and that for the

future,



been the three ſubjects of the quarrel; and
thoſe been amply ſecured to them? had they at
mental reſervation for *power* and *employments*
theſe two articles be added henceforward in
quarrels? It is grown a mighty conceit among
to melt down the phraſe of a *church eſtabliſ*
into that of the *religion of the magiſtrate*; o
pellation it is eaſier to find the reaſon than the
the *magiſtrate* they mean the *prince*, [the e
cludes a falſehood; for when King James was
eſtabliſhed church was the ſame it is now. If
word they mean the legiſlature, we deſire no
that as it will, we of this kingdom believe th
Ireland to be the national church, and the on
bliſhed by law, and are willing by the ſame la
toleration to Diſſenters; but if once we repeal
mental teſt, and grant a *toleration*, or ſuſpend
tion of the penal laws, I do not ſee how we
to have any eſtabliſhed church remaining; or
there will not be as many eſtabliſhed churches,
ſects of Diſſenters. No, ſay they, yours will
national church, becauſe your biſhops and clerg
tained by the public: but *that*, I ſuppoſe, w
long duration, and it would be very unjuſt it
cauſe, to ſpeak in Tindal's phraſe, it is not rea

uld any man, upon account of opinions he cannot help, deprived the opportunity of ſerving his Queen and coun-y! their zeal is commendable, and when employments a-begging for want of hands, they ſhall be ſure to have e refuſal, only upon condition they will not pretend to em upon maxims which equally include *Atheiſts*, *Turks*, *ws*, *Infidels*, and *heretics*; or, which is ſtill more dan-rous, even *Papiſts* themſelves: the former you allow, e other you deny; becauſe theſe laſt own a foreign power, d therefore muſt be ſhut out. But there is no great ight in this; for their religion can ſuit with free ſtates, th limited or abſolute monarchies, as well as a better; d the *Pope*'s power in France is but a ſhadow; ſo that on this foot there need be no great danger to the conſti-tion by admitting *Papiſts* to employments. I will help ou to enough of them who ſhall be as ready to allow the *ope* here as little power as you pleaſe; and the bare opi-on of his being vicar of Chriſt is but a *ſpeculative point*, r which no man it ſeems ought to be deprived the capaci-of ſerving his country.

But, if you pleaſe, I will tell you the great objection we ave againſt repealing this ſame *ſacramental teſt*. It is, at we are verily perſuaded, the conſequence will be an ntire alteration of religion among us in no great compaſs f years. And pray, obſerve how we reaſon here in Ire-nd upon this matter.

We obſerve the Scots in our northern parts to be a brave nduſtrious people, extremely devoted to their religion, nd full of an *undiſturbed* affection towards each other. Numbers of that noble nation, invited by the fertilities of the ſoil, are glad to exchange their barren hills of Locha-ber by a voyage of three hours, for our fruitful vales of Down and Antrim, ſo productive of that *grain*, which at little trouble and leſs expenſe finds diet and lodging for themſelves and their cattle. Theſe people, by their ex-treme parſimony, wonderful *dexterity in dealing*, and firm adherence to one another, ſoon grow into wealth from the *ſmalleſt beginnings*, never are rooted out where they once fix, and increaſe daily by new ſupplies: beſides, when they are the ſuperior number in any tract of ground, they are not *over patient of mixture*; but ſuch whom they cannot aſſimulate,

assimulate, soon find it their interest to remove. I have done all in my power on some land of my own to preserve two or three English fellows in their neighbourhood, but found it impossible, though one of them thought he had sufficiently made his court by turning presbyterian. Add to all this, that they bring along with them from Scotland a most formidable notion of our church, which they look upon at least three degrees worse than Popery: and it is natural it should be so, since they come over full fraught with that spirit which taught them to abolish Episcopacy at home.

Then we proceed farther, and observe, that the gentlemen of employments here make a very considerable number in the house of Commons, and have no *other merit*, but that of doing their duty in their several stations; therefore, when the test is repealed, it will be highly reasonable they should give place to those who have much *greater services* to plead. The commissions of the revenue are soon disposed of, and the collectors and other officers throughout the kingdom are generally appointed by the commissioners, which gives them a mighty influence in every county. As much may be said of the great offices in the law; and when this door is open to let Dissenters into the commissions of the peace, to make them high sheriffs, mayors of corporations, and officers of the army and militia, I do not see how it can be otherwise, considering their industry and our supineness, but that they may, in a very few years, grow to a majority in the house of Commons, and consequently make themselves the national religion, and have a fair pretence to demand the revenues of the church for their teachers. I know it will be objected, that if all this should happen as I describe, yet the Presbyterian religion could never be made the national by act of parliament, because our bishops are so great in number in the house of Lords; and without a majority there, the church could not be abolished. But I have *two very good expedients* for that, which I shall leave you to guess, and I dare swear our Speaker here has often thought on, especially having endeavoured at *one of them* so lately. To convince you, that this design is not so foreign from *some people*'s thoughts, I must let you know, that an honest

bell-

ll-wether * of our houſe (you have him now in Eng-
ıd, I wiſh you could keep him there) had the impudence,
ne years ago, in parliament-time, to ſhake my Lord
hop of Kilaloo † by his lawn-ſleeve, and tell him, in a
:eatening manner, *that he hoped to live to ſee the day,*
hen there ſhould not be one of his order in the king-
m.

Theſe laſt lines perhaps you think a digreſſion; there-
·e to return, I have told you the conſequences we fully
:kon upon from repealing the *ſacramental teſt*, which
hough the greateſt number of ſuch as are for doing it,
: actually in no manner of pain about it, and many of
em care not three pence whether there be any *church*, or
; yet becauſe they pretend to argue from conſcience as
ll as policy and intereſt, I thought it proper to underſtand
d anſwer them accordingly.

Now, Sir, in anſwer to your queſtion, whether if any
tempt ſhould be made here for repealing the *ſacramental*
ſt, it would be likely to ſucceed? the number of pro-
ſſed Diſſenters in this parliament was, as I remember,
mething under a dozen, and I cannot call to mind above
irty others who were expected to fall in with them.
his is certain, that the Preſbyterian party having with
reat induſtry muſtered up their forces, did endeavour one
ay, upon occaſion of a hint in my Lord Pembroke's ‡
eech, to introduce a debate about repealing the *teſt-*
auſe, when there appeared at leaſt four to one odds a-
ainſt them; and the ableſt of thoſe who were reckoned
he moſt ſtanch and thorough-paced *Whigs* upon all other
ccaſions, fell off with an abhorrence at the firſt mention
f this.

I muſt deſire you to take notice, that the terms of *Whig*
nd *Tory* do not properly expreſs the different intereſts in
ur parliament. [I remember, when I was laſt in Eng-
and, I told the King, that the higheſt Tories we had with
s would make tolerable Whigs there: this was certainly
ight, and ſtill in the general continues ſo, unleſs you have

* Suppoſed to be Mr Broderick.
† Dr Lindſay, afterwards Lord Primate.
‡ Then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

ſince

ſince admitted new characteriſtics, which did not come within our definition.] Whoever bears a true veneration for the glorious memory of King William, as our great deliverer from Popery and ſlavery; whoever is firmly loyal to our preſent Queen with an utter abhorrence and detestation of the pretender; whoever approves the ſucceſſion to the crown in the houſe of Hanover, and is for preſerving the doctrine and diſcipline of the church of England, with an *indulgence* for ſcrupulous conſciences; ſuch a man we think acts upon right principles, and may juſtly allowed a *Whig:* and I believe there are not few members in our houſe of Commons, who may not fairly come under this deſcription. So that the parties among us are made up on one ſide of *moderate Whigs*, and on the other of *Presbyterians* and their *abettors*, by which I mean ſuch who can equally go to a *church* or *conventicle*, or ſuch who are indifferent to all religion in general; laſtly, ſuch who affect to bear a perſonal rancour towards the clergy: theſe laſt are a ſet of men not of our own growth, their principles at leaſt have been *imported* of late years; yet this whole party put together will fear, I am confident, amount to above fifty men in parliament which can hardly be worked up into a majority of three hundred.

As to the houſe of Lords, the difficulty there is conceived at leaſt as great as in ours. So many of our temporal peers live in England, that the biſhops are generally pretty near a *par* of the houſe, and we reckon they will be all to a man againſt repealing the *teſt;* and yet their Lordſhips are generally thought as good Whigs upon the principles as any in the kingdom. There are indeed a few lay-lords, who appear to have no great devotion for Epiſcopacy; and perhaps one or two more, with which *certain powerful motives* might be uſed for removing the difficulty whatſoever: but theſe are, in no ſort, a number to carry any point againſt a conjunction of the reſt and the whole bench of biſhops.

Beſides, the whole body of our clergy is utterly against repealing the *teſt*, though they are entirely devoted to his Majeſty, and hardly one in an hundred, who are not very good *Whigs* in our acceptation of the word. And I may

t you know, that we of Ireland are not yet come up to *her folks refinements*, for we generally love and eſteem ir clergy, and think they deſerve it; nay, we are apt to y ſome weight upon their opinion, and would not willing- diſoblige them, at leaſt, unleſs it were upon ſome great- point of intereſt than this. And their judgment in the eſent affair is the more to be regarded, becauſe they are e laſt perſons who will be affected by it: this makes us nk them impartial, and that their concern is only for re- ion and the intereſt of the kingdom. Becauſe the act ich repeals the *teſt*, will only qualify a *layman* for an ployment, but not a *Preſbyterian* or *Anabaptiſt* preach- for a church-living. Now, I muſt take leave to inform , that ſeveral members of our houſe, and myſelf among reſt, knowing ſome time ago what was upon the anvil, it to all the clergy we knew of any diſtinction, and de- d their judgment in the matter; wherein we found a t wonderful agreement, there being but *one divine* that could hear of in the whole kingdom, who appeared of ontrary ſentiment, wherein he afterwards ſtood alone he *convocation*, very little to his *credit*, though, as he ed, very much to his *intereſt*.

will now conſider a little the arguments offered to ſhew advantages, or rather the neceſſity of repealing the *teſt* reland. We are told, the Popiſh intereſt is here ſo nidable, that all hands ſhould be joined to keep it un- ; that the only names of diſtinction among us ought to hoſe of *Proteſtant* and *Papiſt*; and that this expedi- is the only means to *unite* all Proteſtants upon one mon bottom. All which is nothing but miſrepreſenta- and miſtake.

f we were under any real fear of the Papiſts in this gdom, it would be hard to think us ſo ſtupid, as not e equally apprehenſive with *others*, ſince we are likely e the greateſt, and more immediate ſufferers: but, on contrary, we look upon them to be altogether as in- ſiderable as the women and children. Their lands are oſt entirely taken from them, and they are rendered pable of purchaſing any more; and for the little that ains, proviſion is made by the late act againſt Popery, : it will daily crumble away: to prevent which, ſome

of the moſt conſiderable among them are alr
Proteſtants, and ſo in all probability will n
Then, the Popiſh prieſts are all regiſtered, a
permiſſion (which I hope will not be granted
have no ſucceſſors; ſo that the Proteſtant cler
it perhaps no difficult matter to bring great nu
to the church; and in the mean time the comr
without leaders, without diſcipline, or natural c
ing little better than *hewers of wood, and*
water, are out of all capacity of doing any
they were ever ſo well inclined. Neither are
likely to join in any conſiderable numbers with
having found ſo ill ſucceſs when they were mu
merous and powerful; when they had a prin
own religion to head them *, had been traine
years under a *Popiſh deputy*, and received ſuch
from the French King.

As to that argument uſed for repealing the
will unite all Proteſtants againſt the *commo*
wonder by what figure thoſe gentlemen ſpeal
pleaſed to advance it: Suppoſe, in order to
friendſhip between you and me, a law ſhould paſs,
have half your eſtate; do you think that woul
vance the union between us? or ſuppoſe I ſhare
equally between my own *children* and a *ſtran*
I take into my protection; will that be a meth
them? It is an odd way of uniting parties, t
majority of part of their ancient right, by conf
a *faction*, who had never any right at all, an
cannot be ſaid to ſuffer any loſs or injury, if it
them. Neither is it very clear, how far ſome
ſtretch the term of *common enemy*. How man
of thoſe that call themſelves Proteſtants, who
our worſhip to be idolatrous as well as that of
and with great charity put *Prelacy* and *Popery*
terms convertible?

And therefore there is one ſmall doubt I wo
ingly ſatisfied in, before I agree to the repeal

* In the reign of King James II. and till after the l
Boyne in 1690.

; that is, whether theſe ſame *Proteſtants*, when they e by their dexterity made themſelves the national reli-, and diſpoſed the church-revenues among their *pa-rs* or *themſelves*, will be ſo kind to allow *us Diſſenters*, not ſay a ſhare in employments, but a bare *toleration* law? The reaſon of my doubt is, becauſe I have been very idle as to read above fifty pamphlets written by as ny Preſbyterian divines, loudly diſclaiming this idol *ration*, ſome of them calling it (I know not how pro-ly) a *rag of Popery*, and all agreeing it was to *eſtabliſh* *uity by a law*. Now, I would be glad to know, when l where *their ſucceſſors* have renounced this doctrine, l before what witneſſes. Becauſe methinks I ſhould be th to ſee my poor titular biſhop *in partibus* ſeized on miſtake in the dark for a Jeſuit, or be forced myſelf to p a chaplain diſguiſed like my butler, and ſteal to pray-in a back room, as my grandfather uſed in thoſe times en the church of England was *malignant*.

But this is ripping up old quarrels long forgot; Popery iow the *common enemy*, againſt which we muſt all u-; I have been tired in hiſtory with the perpetual folly thoſe ſtates who call in foreigners to aſſiſt them againſt *ommon enemy*: but the miſchief was, theſe *allies* would ver be brought to allow, that the common enemy was te ſubdued. And they had reaſon; for it proved al-; that one part of the common enemy was thoſe who led them in, and ſo the *allies* became at length the *ſters*.

It is agreed among naturaliſts, that a *lion* is a larger, a onger, and more dangerous enemy than a *cat*; yet if a n were to have his choice, either a *lion* at his foot, und faſt with three or four chains, his teeth drawn out, d his claws pared to the quick, or an angry *cat* in full ery at his throat; he would take no long time to de-mine.

I have been ſometimes admiring the wonderful ſignifi-acy of that word *perſecution*, and what various inter-etations it hath acquired even within my memory. When was a boy, I often heard the Preſbyterians complain, that ey were not permitted to ſerve God in their own way; ey ſaid they did not repine at our employments, but

thought that all men who live peaceably ought to ha liberty of conſcience, and leave to aſſemble. That imp diment being removed at the revolution, they ſoon learn to ſwallow the *ſacramental teſt*, and began to take ve large ſteps, wherein all who offered to oppoſe them, we called men of a *perſecuting ſpirit*. During the time t bill againſt occaſional conformity was on foot, *perſecuti* was every day rung in our ears, and now at laſt the *ſac mental teſt* itſelf has the ſame name. Where then is t matter likely to end, when the obtaining of one requeſt only uſed as a ſtep to demand another? A lover is ever co plaining of *cruelty*, while any thing is denied him; a when the lady ceaſes to be *cruel*, ſhe is from the m moment at his mercy: ſo *perſecution*, it ſeems, is ev thing, that will not leave it in mens power to *perſec others*.

There is one argument offered againſt a *ſacramen teſt* by a ſort of men who are content to be ſtyled of church of England, who perhaps attend its ſervice in morning, and go with their wives to a *conventicle* in afternoon, confeſſing they hear very good doctrine in bo Theſe men are much offended, that ſo holy an inſtituti as that of the Lord's ſupper, ſhould be made ſubſervi to ſuch mercenary purpoſes as the getting of an empl ment. Now, it ſeems, the law, concluding all men to members of that church where they receive the ſacrame and ſuppoſing all men to live like Chriſtians (eſpeci thoſe who are to have employments) did imagine they ceived the ſacrament in courſe about four times a-ye and therefore only deſired it might appear by certificat the public, that ſuch who took an office, were member the church eſtabliſhed, by doing their ordinary duty. H ever, *leſt we ſhould offend them*, we have often def they would deal candidly with us: for if the matter ſt only there, we would propoſe it in parliament, that e man who takes an employment, ſhould, inſtead of re ving the ſacrament, be obliged to ſwear, that he is a m ber of the church of Ireland by law eſtabliſhed, with l ſcopacy, *and ſo forth*; and as they do now in Scotlanc *be true to the kirk*. But when we drive them thus they always retire to the main body of the argument, t

e hardſhip that men ſhould be deprived the liberty of
ving their Queen and country on account of their con-
ence: and in ſhort, have recourſe to the common ſtyle
their half-brethren. Now, whether this be a ſincere way
arguing, I will appeal to any other judgment but theirs.
There is another topic of clamour ſomewhat parallel
the foregoing: it ſeems, by the teſt-clauſe, the *military*
ficers are obliged to receive the ſacrament, as well as
civil. And it is a matter of ſome patience, to hear
Diſſenters declaiming upon this occaſion: they cry
y are *diſarmed*, they are uſed like Papiſts: when an
my appears at home, or from abroad, they muſt ſit
, and ſee their throats cut, or be hanged for high trea-
if they offer to defend themſelves. Miſerable condi-
n! woful dilemma! it is happy for us all, that the
tender was not appriſed of this *paſſive Preſbyterian* prin-
le, elſe he would have infallibly landed in our *northern*
ts, and found them all ſat down in their formalities, as
Gauls did the Roman ſenators, ready to die with
our in their callings. Sometimes to appeaſe their in-
nation, we venture to give them hopes, that in ſuch a
the government will perhaps connive, and hardly be ſo
ere to hang them for defending it againſt the letter
the law; to which they readily anſwer, that they will
lie at our mercy, but let us fight our battles ourſelves.
netimes we offer to get an act, by which, upon all *Po-*
h inſurrections at home, or *Popiſh* invaſions from abroad,
government ſhall be impowered to grant commiſſions to
Proteſtants whatſoever, without that *perſecuting* cir-
nſtance of obliging them to *ſay their prayers* when they
eive the ſacrament: but they abhor all thoughts of *oc-*
ſional commiſſions; they will not do our drudgery, and
reap the benefit: it is not worth their while to fight
aris et focis; and they had rather loſe their eſtates,
erties, religion, and lives, than the pleaſure of *govern-*
.

But to bring this diſcourſe towards a concluſion: If the
ſenters will be ſatisfied with ſuch a toleration by law, as
th been granted them in England, I believe the majori-
of both houſes will fall readily in with it; farther it
ll be hard to perſuade this houſe of Commons, and per-

haps much harder the next. For, to ſay the truth, make a mighty difference here between ſuffering *thiſtl* grow among us, and wearing them for *poſies*. We fully convinced in our conſciences, that *we* ſhall al *tolerate them*; but not quite ſo fully that *they* will al *tolerate us*, when it comes to their turn; and *we* are majority, and *we* are in poſſeſſion.

He who argues in defence of a law in force, not quated or obſolete, but lately enacted, is certainly o ſafer ſide, and may be allowed to point out the dange conceives to foreſee in the abrogation of it.

For, if the conſequences of repealing this clauſe ſh at ſome time or other enable the Preſbyterians to themſelves up into the national church; inſtead of *ting* Proteſtants, it would ſow eternal diviſions among t Firſt, their own ſects, which now lie dormant, woul ſoon at cuffs *again* with each other about power and ferment; and the *diſſenting Epiſcopals*, perhaps diſcon ed to ſuch a degree, as upon ſome *fair unhappy* occa would be able to ſhake the firmeſt loyalty, which non deny theirs to be.

Neither is it very difficult to conjecture, from ſome proceedings, at what a rate this *faction* is like to d where-ever it gets the *whip* and the *ſeat*. They hav ready ſet up courts of ſpiritual judicature in open cont of the laws: they ſend *miſſionaries* every where, wit being invited, in order to convert the *church of* Eng folks to *Chriſtianity*. They are as vigilant as *I know* to attend perſons on their deathbeds, and for pur much alike. And what practices ſuch principles as (with many other that might be invidious to mention) ſpawn, when they are *laid out to the ſun*, you may d mine at leiſure.

Laſtly, Whether we are ſo entirely ſure of their lo upon the preſent foot of government as you may ima their detractors make a queſtion, which however do think, by no means affect the body of Diſſenters: bu inſtance produced is of ſome among their leading tea in the north, who having refuſed the *abjuration-oath* continue their preaching, and have abundance of follo The particulars are out of my head; but the fact is r

1

ough, and I believe hath been publiſhed; I think , it hath not been *remedied*.

I have fairly given you, Sir, my own opinion, as that of a great majority in both houſes here, re- this weighty affair; upon which I am confident ſecurely reckon. I will leave you to make what you pleaſe.

I am with great reſpect,

Dec. 4.
1708. *SIR,*

Your, &c.

Some

Some ARGUMENTS againſt enlarging the power of BISHOPS in letting of LEASES *.

Mihi credite, major hereditas venit unicuique veſtrum in iiſdem bonis a jure et a legibus, quam ab iis a quibus illa ipſa bona relicta ſunt. Cicero pro A. Cæcina.

Written in the year 1723.

IN handling this ſubject I ſhall proceed wholly upon the ſuppoſition, that thoſe of our party who profeſs themſelves members of the church eſtabliſhed, and under the apoſtolical government of biſhops, do deſire the continuance and tranſmiſſion of it to poſterity, at leaſt in as good a condition as it is at preſent: becauſe as this diſcourſe is not calculated for Diſſenters of any kind, ſo neither will it ſuit the talk or ſentiments of thoſe perſons, who with the denomination of churchmen are oppreſſors of the inferior clergy, and perpetually quarrelling at the great incomes of the biſhops; which is a traditional cant delivered down from former times, and continued with great reaſon, although it be now near 200 years ſince almoſt three parts in four of the church-revenues have been taken from the clergy, beſides the ſpoils that have been gradually made

* This pamphlet is intermixed with thoſe maſterly ſtrokes of irony, which are ſo often intermixed in Swift's works. The general ſubject of it leads me to recollect a circumſtance much to the Dean's honour: he could never be induced to take fines for any of the chapter-lands; he always choſe to raiſe the rents, as the method leaſt oppreſſive to the preſent tenant, and moſt advantageous to all future tenants and landlords. He conſtantly refuſed to give charity out of the chapter-funds, which he alledged were ſcarce ſufficient to maintain the neceſſary repairs of the cathedral. *Orrery.*

ever

e of glebes and other lands by the confuſion of
ıe fraud of incroaching neighbours, or the power
ſſors too great to be encountered.

the time of the reformation many *Popiſh* Biſhops
ngdom, knowing they muſt have been ſoon eject-
ey would not change their religion, made long
ł fee-farms of great part of their lands, reſerving
ınſiderable rents, ſometimes only a chiefry, by a
ey aſſumed directly contrary to many ancient ca-
t conſiſtent enough with the common law. This
ł on for many years after the biſhops became Pro-
and ſome of their names are ſtill remembered
my on account of enriching their families by ſuch
us alienations. By theſe means Epiſcopal reve-
e ſo low reduced, that three or four ſees were
ted to make a tolerable competency. For ſome
o this evil, King James I. by a bounty that be-
ood Chriſtian prince, beſtowed ſeveral forfeited
the *northern* biſhoprics: but in all other parts of
lom the church continued ſtill in the ſame diſtreſs
rty; ſome of the ſees hardly poſſeſſing enough to
a country-vicar. About the middle of King
.'s reign the legiſlature here thought fit to put a
:aſt to any farther alienations; and ſo a law was
prohibiting all biſhops and other eccleſiaſtical cor-
from ſetting their lands for above the term of
ne years; the rent reſerved to be one half of the
e of ſuch lands at the time they were ſet, without
ndition the leaſe to be void.

ıfter the reſtoration of King Charles II. the par-
aking into conſideration the miſerable eſtate of the
certain lands by way of augmentation were grant-
ht biſhops in the act of ſettlement, and confirmed
ł of explanation; of which bounty, as I remem-
:e ſees were in a great meaſure defeated; but by
idents, it is not here of any importance to relate.
at preſent is the condition of the church in Ire-
ı regard to Epiſcopal revenues: which I have thus
.nd perhaps imperfectly) deduced for ſome infor-
ɔ thoſe whoſe thoughts do not lead them to ſuch
ıtions.

By virtue of the ſtatute already mentioned, under King Charles I. limiting eccleſiaſtical bodies to the term of twenty-one years, under the reſerved rent of half real value, the biſhops have had ſome ſhare in the gradual riſe of lands, without which they could not have been ſupported with any common decency that might become their ſtation. It is above eighty years ſince the paſſing of that act: the ſee of Meath, one of the beſt in the kingdom, was then worth about 400 *l. per annum*; the poorer ones in the ſame proportion. If this were their preſent condition, I cannot conceive how they would have been able to pay for their patents, or buy their robes: but this will certainly be the condition of their ſucceſſors, if ſuch a bill ſhould paſs, as they ſay is now intended, which I will ſuppoſe; and believe many perſons who may give a vote for it, are not aware of.

However, this is the act which is now attempted to be repealed, or at leaſt eluded; ſome are for giving biſhops leave to let fee-farms, others would allow them to let leaſes for lives; and the moſt moderate would repeal that clauſe, by which the biſhops are bound to let their lands at half-value.

The reaſons for the riſe of value in lands are of two kinds. Of the firſt kind, are long peace and ſettlement after the devaſtations of war; plantations, improvements of bad ſoil, recovery of bogs and marſhes, advancement of trade and manufactures, increaſe of inhabitants, encouragement of agriculture, and the like.

But there is another reaſon for the riſe of land, more gradual, conſtant, and certain; which will have its effects in countries that are very far from flouriſhing in any of the advantages I have juſt mentioned: I mean *the perpetual decreaſe in the value of gold and ſilver*. I ſhall diſcourſe upon theſe two different kinds with a view towards the bill now attempted.

As to the firſt: I cannot ſee how this kingdom is at any height of improvement, while four parts in five of the plantations for thirty years paſt have been real diſimprovements; nine in ten of the quickſet-hedges being ruined for want of care or ſkill. And as to foreſt-trees, they being often taken out of woods, and planted in ſingle rows c

he tops of ditches, it is impoſſible they ſhould grow to be f uſe, beauty, or ſhelter. Neither can it be ſaid, that he ſoil of Ireland is improved to its full height, while ſo uch lies all winter under water, and the bogs made almoſt eſperate by the ill cutting of the turf. There hath indeed been ſome little improvement in the manufactures of men and woollen, although very ſhort of perfection; but ur trade was never in ſo low a condition: and as to agriulture, of which all wiſe nations have been ſo tender, he deſolation made in the country by ingroſſing graziers, nd the great yearly importation of corn from England, re lamentable inſtances under what diſcouragement it lies.

But, notwithſtanding all theſe mortifications, I ſuppoſe here is no wellwiſher to his country without a little hope, hat in time the kingdom may be on a better foot in ſome f the articles above mentioned. But it would be hard, f eccleſiaſtical bodies ſhould be the only perſons excluded rom any ſhare in public advantages, which yet can never appen, without a greater ſhare of profit to their tenants: f God *ſends rain equally upon the juſt and the unjuſt*, why hould thoſe who wait at his altars, and are inſtructors of he people, be cut off from partaking in the general benefits of law or of nature?

But, as this way of reaſoning may ſeem to bear a more favourable eye to the clergy, than perhaps will ſuit with he preſent diſpoſition or faſhion of the age; I ſhall therefore dwell more largely upon the ſecond reaſon for the riſe of land, which is *the perpetual decreaſe of the value of gold and ſilver*.

This may be obſerved from the courſe of the Roman hiſtory above two thouſand years before thoſe inexhauſtible ſilver mines of Potoſi were known. The value of an *obolus* and of every other coin between the time of Romulus and that of Auguſtus gradually ſunk above five parts in ſix, as appears by ſeveral paſſages out of the beſt authors. And yet the prodigious wealth of that ſtate did not ariſe from the increaſe of bullion in the world by the diſcovery of new mines, but from a much more accidental cauſe, which was the ſpreading of their conqueſts, and thereby importing into Rome and Italy the riches of the *eaſt* and *weſt*.

When

When the ſeat of empire was removed to Conſta ple, the tide of money flowed that way without e turning; and was ſcattered in Aſia. But when that ty empire was overthrown by the northern people, ſtop was put to all trade and commerce, that vaſt ſi money were buried to eſcape the plundering of th querors; and what remained was carried off by th vagers.

It were no difficult matter to compute the value c ney in England during the Saxon reigns; but the iſh and other writers ſince the conqueſt have put tha ter in a clearer light, by the ſeveral accounts they h ven us of the value of corn and cattle in years of and plenty. Every one knows that King John's whol tion, before he came to the crown, was but five th pounds, without a foot of land.

I have likewiſe ſeen the ſteward's accounts of cient noble family in England written in Latin betwee and four hundred years ago, with the ſeveral prices c and victuals, to confirm my obſervations.

I have been at the trouble of computing (as other done) the different values of money for about four h years paſt. Henry Duke of Lancaſter, who lived that period, founded an hoſpital in Leiceſter for a number of old men, charging his lands with a groat a to each for their maintenance, which is to this da paid them. In thoſe times, a penny was equal pence halfpenny, and ſomewhat more than half a f in ours; which makes about eight ninths difference.

This is plain alſo from the old cuſtom upon many in England to let for leaſes of lives, (renewable a ſure), where the reſerved rent is uſually about twelve a-pound, which then was near the half real value: though the fines be not fixed, yet the landlord get gether not above three ſhillings in the pound of the of his land: and the tenants are ſo wedded to this c that, if the owner ſuffer three lives to expire, m them will take a leaſe on other conditions; or if he in a foreigner who will agree to pay a reaſonable ren other tenants by all manner of injuries will make th reigner ſo uneaſy, that he muſt be forced to quit the

the late Earl of Bath felt by the experience of above a thouſand pounds loſs.

The gradual decreaſe for about two hundred years af- was not conſiderable, and therefore I do not rely on the count given by ſome hiſtorians, that Harry VII. left hind him eighteen hundred thouſand pounds; for, al- ough the Weſt Indies were diſcovered before his death, d although he had the beſt talents and inſtruments for acting of money ever poſſeſſed by any prince ſince the e of Veſpaſian (whom he reſembled in many particulars), t I conceive, that in his days the whole coin of England ld hardly amount to ſuch a ſum. For in the reign of ilip and Mary, Sir —— Cockain of Derbyſhire, the ſt houſekeeper of his quality in the county, allowed his ly fifty pounds a-year for maintaining the family, one und a-year wages to each ſervant, and two pounds to the ward; as I was told by a perſon of quality who had n the original account of his œconomy. Now, this ſum fifty pounds, added to the advantages of a large do- in, might be equal to about five hundred pounds a-year preſent, or ſomewhat more than four *fifths*.

The great plenty of ſilver in England began in Queen iſabeth's reign, when Drake and others took vaſt quan- ies of coin and bullion from the Spaniards either upon eir own American coaſts, or in their return to Spain. owever, ſo much hath been imported annually from that ne to this, that the value of money in England, and moſt rts of Europe, is ſunk above one half within the ſpace an hundred years, notwithſtanding the great export of ver for about eighty years paſt to the Eaſt Indies, from hence it never returns. But gold not being liable to the me accident, and by new diſcoveries growing every day ore plentiful, ſeems in danger of becoming a drug.

This hath been the progreſs of the value of money in rmer ages, and muſt of neceſſity continue ſo for the fu- re, without ſome new invaſion of Goths and Vandals to eſtroy law, property, and religion, alter the very face of ature, and turn the world upſide down.

I muſt repeat, that what I am to ſay upon the ſubject s intended only for the conviction of thoſe among our *own party*, who are true lovers of the church, and would

be glad it ſhould continue in a tolerable degre
rity to the end of the world.

The church is ſuppoſed to laſt for ever b
ſcipline and doctrine; which is a privilege c
very petty corporation, who muſt likewiſe
laws of their foundation. If a gentleman's e
now yields him a thouſand pounds a-year, had
ever at the higheſt value even in the flouriſ
King Charles II. would it now amount to abov
hundred at moſt? What if this had happened
hundred years ago; would the reſerved rent a
any more than a ſmall chiefry? Suppoſe the r
biſhop to have been under the ſame circumſt
he now be able to perform works of hoſpital
rity? Thus, if the revenues of a biſhop be limit
ſand pounds a-year; how will his ſucceſſor be i
to ſupport his ſtation with decency, when the
mination of money ſhall not anſwer an half, a
an eighth part of that ſum? Which muſt un
the conſequence of any bill to elude the limitin
by the church was preſerved from utter ruin.

The ſame reaſon holds good in all corporat
ever, who cannot follow a more pernicious
that of granting perpetuities, for which m
ſmart to this day; although the leaders amc
often ſo ſtupid as not to perceive it, or ſ
knaviſh as to find their private account in
community.

Several colleges in Oxford were aware of
evil about an hundred years ago; and inſtead
their rents to a certain ſum of money, prevaile
tenants to pay the price of ſo many barrels of
valued as the market went at two ſeaſons (as I
in the year. For a barrel of corn is of a real int
which gold and ſilver are not: and by this inv
colleges have preſerved a tolerable ſubſiſtence f
lows and ſtudents to this day.

The preſent biſhops will indeed be no ſuffe
a bill; becauſe, their ages conſidered, they ca
to ſee any great decreaſe in the value of m
worſt they can make it up in the fines, which

ly be greater than uſual upon the change of leaſes into ee-farms or lives; or without the power of obliging their nants to a real half-value. And, as I cannot well blame hem for taking ſuch advantages, (conſidering the nature f humankind), when the queſtion is only, whether the oney ſhall be put into their own or another man's pocket? o they will never be excuſable before God or man, if they o not to their death oppoſe, declare, and proteſt againſt y ſuch bill, as muſt in its conſequences complete the in of the church, and of their own order in this king- om.

If the fortune of a private perſon be diminiſhed by the akneſs, or inadvertency of his anceſtors, in letting leaſes r ever at low rents, the world lies open to his induſtry r purchaſing of more; but the church is barred by a *dead nd;* or if it were otherwiſe, yet the cuſtom of making queſts to it hath been out of practice for almoſt two ndred years, and *a great deal directly contrary* hath been fortune.

I have been aſſured by a perſon of ſome conſequence, whom I am likewiſe obliged for the account of ſome er facts already related, that the late * Biſhop of Saliſ- ry (the greateſt *Whig* of that bench in his days) confeſſ- to him, that the liberty which biſhops in England have letting leaſes for lives would, in his opinion, be one day e ruin of Epiſcopacy there; and thought the church in is kingdom happy by the limitation-act.

And have we not already found the effect of this dif- rent proceeding in both kingdoms? Have not two Eng- h prelates quitted their peerage and ſeats in parliament, *a nation of freedom*, for the ſake of a more ample re- nue even in this unhappy kingdom, rather than lie under e mortification of living below their dignity at home? r which however they cannot be juſtly cenſured. I ow indeed ſome perſons, who offer as an argument for pealing the limiting-bill, that it may in future ages pre- nt the practice of providing this kingdom with biſhops om England, when the only temptation will be removed. nd they alledge, that, as things have gone for ſome years

* Dr Burnet.

paſt, gentlemen will grow diſcouraged from ſending ſons to the univerſity, and from ſuffering them to ente to holy orders, when they are likely to languiſh unc curacy or ſmall vicarage to the end of their lives: bu is all a vain imagination; for the decreaſe in the val money will equally affect both kingdoms: and be when biſhoprics here grow too ſmall to invite over m credit and conſequence, they will be left more fully t diſpoſal of a chief governor, who can never fail of worthleſs illiterate chaplain, fond of a title and preced Thus will that whole bench in an age or two be com of mean, ignorant, fawning gownmen, humble ſupp and dependents upon the *court* for a morſel of bread ready to ſerve every turn that ſhall be demanded them in hopes of getting ſome *commendam* tacked to fees; which muſt then be the trade, as it is now too in England, to the great diſcouragement of the in clergy. Neither is that practice without example a us.

It is now about eighty-five years ſince the paſſing o limiting-act, and there is but one inſtance in the me of man of a biſhop's leaſe broken upon the plea of n ing ſtatutable; which, in every body's opinion, could been loſt by no other perſon than he who was then t and happened to be very ungracious in his county. T preſent * Biſhop of Meath's caſe that plea did not although the leaſe were notoriouſly unſtatutable; th reſerved being, as I have been told, not a ſeventh p the real value; yet the jury upon their oaths *very g* found it to be according to the ſtatute; and one of was heard to ſay, that he would *eat his ſhoes* bef would give a verdict for the biſhop. A very few have made the ſame attempt with as little ſucceſs. biſhop and other eccleſiaſtical body reckon forty pou an hundred to be a reaſonable half-value; or if it b a third part, it ſeldom or never breeds any differen tween landlord and tenant. But when the rent is fro to nine or ten parts leſs than the worth, the Biſhop, conſults the good of his ſee, will be apt to expoſtulate

* Dr Evans, a Welchman.

the tenant, if he be an honeſt man, will have ſome regard to the reaſonableneſs and juſtice of the demand, ſo as to yield to a moderate advancement, rather than engage in a ſuit, where law and equity are directly againſt him. By theſe means the biſhops have been ſo true to their truſts, as to procure ſome ſmall ſhare in the advancement of rents; although it be notorious, that they do not receive the third penny (fines included) of the real value of their lands throughout the kingdom.

I was never able to imagine what inconvenience could accrue to the public by one or two thouſand pounds a-year in the hands of a Proteſtant Biſhop, any more than of a lay perſon *. The former, generally ſpeaking, liveth as ſocially and hoſpitably as the other; pays his debts as honeſtly, and ſpends as much of his revenue among his tenants: beſides, if they be his immediate tenants, you may diſtinguiſh them at firſt ſight by their habits and horſes; or if you go to their houſes, by their comfortable way of living. But the misfortune is, that ſuch immediate tenants, generally ſpeaking, have others under them, and ſo third and fourth in ſubordination, till it comes to the *weller*, (as they call him), who ſits at a rack-rent, and lives as miſerably as an Iriſh farmer upon a new leaſe from a lay landlord. But ſuppoſe a biſhop happens to be avaricious, (as being compoſed of the ſame ſtuff with other men), the conſequence to the public is no worſe than if he were a ſquire; for he leaves his fortune to his ſon or near relation, who, if he be rich enough, will never think of entering into the church.

And as there can be no diſadvantage to the public in a Proteſtant country, that a man ſhould hold lands as a *Biſhop*, any more than if he were a *temporal* perſon; ſo it is of great advantage to the community, where a biſhop lives as he ought to do. He is bound in conſcience to reſide in his dioceſe, and by a ſolemn promiſe to keep hoſpitality; his eſtate is ſpent in the kingdom, not remitted to England; he keeps the clergy to their duty, and is an

* This part of the paragraph is to be applied to the period when the whole was written, which was in 1723, when ſeveral of Queen Anne's biſhops were living.

example of virtue both to them and the people. Suppo him an ill man; yet his very character will with-hold hi from any great or open exorbitancies. But in fact it m be allowed, that ſome biſhops of this kingdom with twenty years paſt have done very ſignal and laſting acts public charity; great inſtances whereof are the * late a † preſent Primate, and the Lord ‡ Archbiſhop of Dub that now is, who hath left memorials of his bounty in ma parts of his province. I might add the Biſhop of ‖ Raph and ſeveral others: not forgetting the late Dean of Dow Dr Pratt, who beſtowed one thouſand pounds upon t univerſity; which foundation, (that I may obſerve by t way), if the bill propoſed ſhould paſs, would be in t ſame circumſtances with the Biſhops, nor ever able ag to advance the ſtipends of the fellows and ſtudents, lately they found it neceſſary to do; the determinate ſi appointed by the ſtatutes for commons being not half f ficient by the fall of money to afford neceſſary ſuſtenan But the paſſing of ſuch a bill muſt put an end to all ecc ſiaſtical beneficence for the time to come; and whet this will be ſupplied by thoſe who are to reap the bene better than it hath been done by the grantees of imp priate tithes, who received them upon the old church-c ditions of keeping hoſpitality, it will be eaſy to conj ture.

To alledge, that paſſing ſuch a bill would be a gr encouragement to improve biſhops lands, is a great err Is it not the general method of landlords to wait the ex ration of a leaſe, and then cant their lands to the high bidder? And what ſhould hinder the ſame courſe to taken in church-leaſes, when the limitation is removed paying half the real value to the Biſhop? In riding throu the country how few improvements do we ſee upon t eſtates of laymen, farther than about their own domain To ſay the truth, it is a great misfortune as well to t public as to the Biſhops themſelves, that their lands a generally let to lords and great ſquires, who in real were never deſigned to be tenants; and therefore may r

* Dr Marſh.
† Dr Lindſay.
‡ Dr King.
‖ Dr Foſter.

turally murmur at the payment of rent, as a ſubſerviency they were not born to. If the tenants to the church were honeſt farmers, they would pay their fines and rents with chearfulneſs, improve their lands, and thank God they were to give but a moderate half-value for what they held. I have heard a man of a thouſand pounds a-year talk with great contempt of biſhops leaſes, as being on a worſe foot than the reſt of his eſtate; and he had certainly reaſon: my anſwer was, that ſuch leaſes were originally intended only for the benefit of induſtrious huſbandmen, who would think it a great bleſſing to be ſo provided for, inſtead of having his farm ſcrewed up to the height, not eating one comfortable meal in a year, nor able to find ſhoes for his children.

I know not any advantage that can accrue by ſuch a bill, except the preventing of perjury in jurymen, and falſe dealing in tenants; which is a remedy like that of giving my money to an highwayman, before he attempts to take it by force; and ſo I ſhall be ſure to prevent the ſin of robbery.

I had wrote thus far, and thought to have made an end; when a bookſeller ſent me a ſmall pamphlet, intitled, *The caſe of the laity, with ſome queries;* full of the ſtrongeſt malice againſt the clergy, that I have any where met with ſince the reign of Toland, and others of that tribe. Theſe kinds of advocates do infinite miſchief to OUR GOOD CAUSE by giving grounds to the unjuſt reproaches of TORIES and JACOBITES, who charge us with being enemies to the church. If I bear an hearty unfeigned loyalty to his Majeſty King GEORGE and the houſe of Hanover, not ſhaken in the leaſt by the hardſhips we lie under, which never can be imputable to ſo gracious a prince; if I ſincerely abjure the PRETENDER, and all POPISH SUCCESSORS; if I bear a due veneration to the glorious memory of the late King WILLIAM, who preſerved theſe kingdoms from POPERY and SLAVERY with the expenſe of his blood, and hazard of his life; and laſtly, if I am for a proper indulgence to all *Diſſenters*, I think nothing more can be reaſonably demanded of *me as a* WHIG, *and that* my political catechiſm is full and *complete. But* whoever, under the ſhelter of that party-denomination,

denomination, and of many great profeſſions of loy
would deſtroy, or undermine, or injure the CHURCH
bliſhed; I utterly diſown him, and think he ought to c
another name of diſtinction for himſelf and his adher
I came into the cauſe upon other principles, which b
grace of God I mean to preſerve as long as I live.
we juſtify the accuſations of our adverſaries? *Hoc Iti*
velit. — The TORIES and JACOBITES will behol
with a malicious pleaſure, determined upon the ruin o
friends. For is not the preſent ſet of biſhops almo
tirely of that number, as well as a great majority o
principal clergy? And a ſhort time will reduce the v
by vacancies upon death.

An impartial reader, if he pleaſes to examine w
have already ſaid, will eaſily anſwer the bold *queri*
the pamphlet I mentioned; he will be convinced, th
reaſon ſtill ſtrongly exiſts, for which that limiting
was enacted. A reaſonable man will wonder, wher
be *the inſufferable grievance*, that an *eccleſiaſtical* lan
ſhould expect a moderate or a third part value in re
his lands, when his title is *at leaſt* as ancient and as
as that of a layman; who is yet but ſeldom guilty of
ſuch beneficial bargains. Has *the nation been throw*
confuſion? And have *many poor families been ruin*
rack-rents paid for the lands of the church? does *th*
tion cry out to have a law that muſt in time ſend
biſhops a-begging? But, God be thanked, the clamo
enemies to the church is not yet the *cry*, and I hop
never prove the *voice* of the nation. The clergy, I
ceive, will hardly allow that *the people maintain*
any more than in the ſenſe that all landlords whatſoev
maintained by the people. Such aſſertions as theſe
the inſinuations they carry along with them, proceed
principles which cannot be avowed by thoſe who a
preſerving the happy *conſtitution* in *church* and
Whoever were the propoſers of ſuch *queries*, it might
provoked a bold writer to retaliate, perhaps with
juſtice than prudence, by ſhewing at whoſe door the
vance lies, and that the biſhops *at leaſt* are not to a
for the poverty of tenants.

To gratify this great reformer, who enlarges the

capal rent-roll almoſt one half, let me ſuppoſe that all the church-lands in the kingdom were thrown up to the laity; would the tenants in ſuch a caſe ſit eaſier in their rents than they do now? Or, would the money be equally ſpent in the kingdom? No; the farmer would be ſcrewed up to the utmoſt penny by the agents and ſtewards of *abſentees*, and the revenues employed in making a figure at London; to which city a full third part of the whole *income* of Ireland is annually returned, to anſwer that ſingle *article* of *maintenance* for Iriſh landlords.

Another of his quarrels is againſt *pluralities* and *non-reſidence*. As to the former, it is a word of ill name, but not well underſtood. The clergy having been ſtripped of the greateſt part of their revenues, the *glebes* being generally loſt, the *tithes* in the hands of laymen, the churches demoliſhed, and the country depopulated; in order to preſerve a face of *Chriſtianity*, it was neceſſary to unite ſmall *vicarages* ſufficient to make a tolerable maintenance for a *miniſter*. The profit of ten or a dozen of theſe *unions* ſeldom amounts to above eighty or an hundred pounds a-year. If there be a very few *dignitaries*, whoſe preferments are perhaps more liable to this accuſation, it is to be ſuppoſed, they may be *favourites of the time*; or perſons of *ſuperior* merit, for whom there hath ever been ſome indulgence in all governments.

As to *non-reſidence*, I believe there is no Chriſtian country upon earth, where the clergy have leſs to anſwer for upon that article. I am confident there are not ten clergymen in the kingdom, who, properly ſpeaking, can be termed *non-reſidents*: for ſurely we are not reckon in that number thoſe who for want of *glebes* are forced to retire to the neareſt neighbouring village for a *cabin* to put their heads in; the leading man of the pariſh, when he makes the greateſt clamour, being leaſt diſpoſed to accommodate the *miniſter* with an acre of ground. And indeed, conſidering the difficulties the clergy lie under upon this head, it hath been frequent matter of wonder to me, how they are able to perform that part of their duty ſo well as they do.

There

There is a * noble author, who hath lately addreſ to the houſe of COMMONS an excellent diſcourſe for t *encouragement of agriculture*; full of moſt uſeful *hin* which I hope that Honourable aſſembly will conſider as t deſerve. I am not a ſtranger to his Lordſhip; and (ccpting in what relates to the church, there are few p ſons with whoſe opinions I am better pleaſed to agree; i am therefore grieved when I find him charging the inc veniencies in the payment of *tithes* upon the *clergy* their *proctors*. His Lordſhip is above conſidering a v known and vulgar truth, that the meaneſt farmer hath manner of advantages againſt the moſt *powerful* clergyn by whom it is impoſſible he can be wronged, although *miniſter* were ever ſo evil diſpoſed; the whole ſyſtem of *zing*, *perplexing*, and *defrauding* the *proctor*, or his *maj* being as well known to every *ploughman*, as the reapin ſowing of his corn, and much more artfully practiſed. ſides, the leading man in the pariſh muſt have his *tithes* a own rate, which is hardly ever above one quarter of value. And I have heard it computed by many ſk obſervers, whoſe intereſt was not concerned, that the c gy did not receive throughout the kingdom one hal what the laws have made their due.

As to his Lordſhip's diſcontent againſt the *biſhops co* I ſhall not interpoſe farther than in venturing my pri opinion, that the clergy would be very glad to rec their juſt *dues* by a more *ſhort*, *deciſive*, and *compe* method, than ſuch a cramped and limited juriſdiction allow.

His Lordſhip is not the only perſon diſpoſed to give clergy the honour of being the *ſole* encouragers of all improvements. If *hops*, *hemp*, *flax*, and twenty th more are to be planted, the clergy *alone* muſt reward induſtrious farmer by abatement of the *tithe*. Wh the owner of nine parts in ten would pleaſe to abate portionably in his rent for every acre thus improv Would not a man juſt dropt from the clouds, upon a hearing, judge the demand to be at leaſt as reaſonable

* *The late* Lord Moleſworth.

I believe no man will diſpute his Lordſhip's title to his ate; nor will I the *jus divinum* of *tithes*, which he ntions with ſome emotion. I ſuppoſe the affirmative uld be of little advantage to the clergy, for the ſame ſon that a *maxim* in *law* hath more weight in the rld than an *article* of *faith*. And yet I think there y be ſuch a thing as *ſacrilege*; becauſe it is frequently ntioned by Greek and Roman authors, as well as cribed in *holy writ*. This I am ſure of, that his Lord- would at any time excuſe a PARLIAMENT for not cerning itſelf in his properties without his own conſent. The obſervations I have made upon his Lordſhip's diſ- rſe, have not, I confeſs, been altogether proper to my ject: however, ſince he hath been pleaſed therein to r ſome propoſals to the houſe of Commons with rela- to the clergy, I hope he will excuſe me for differing n him; which proceeds from his own principle, the ire of defending *liberty* and *property*, that he hath ſo nuouſly and conſtantly maintained.

But the other writer openly declares for a law impower- the biſhops to ſet *fee-farms*; and ſays, *Whoever in- ates, that they will deny their conſent to ſuch a rea- able law, which the whole nation cries for, are ene- es to them and the church.* Whether this be his real nion, or only a ſtrain of mirth and irony, the matter is t much. However, my ſentiments are ſo directly con- ry to his, that, I think, whoever impartially reads d conſiders what I have written upon this argument, th either no regard for the church eſtabliſhed under the rarchy of biſhops, or will never conſent to any law that ill repeal or elude the limiting-clauſe relating to the al half-value, contained in the act of parliament *decimo roli, For the preſervation of the inheritance, rights, and fits of lands belonging to the church and perſons eccle- ſtical*; which was grounded upon reaſons, that do ſtill d muſt for ever ſubſiſt.

October 21.
1723.

The

The PRESBYTERIANS PLEA of MERIT i order to take off the TEST, impartially e amined.

Written in the year 1731 *.

WE have been told in the common news-papers, t all attempts are to be made this ſeſſion by *Presbyterians* and their abettors for taking off the teſt; a kind of preparatory ſtep to make it go down ſmoothe England. For if once *their light would ſo ſhine*, the *Papiſts* delighted with the blaze would all come in and da about it. This I take to be a prudent method; like t of a diſcreet phyſician, who firſt gives a new medicine a *dog*, before he preſcribes it to a human creature †.

* See a letter on this ſubject, p. 234. of this volume; wh was reprinted in Ireland on the ſame occaſion that produ this and the three following tracts.

† The author begins this tract in the true vein of wit and rit, by ſaying, ----- "We have been told in the common ne papers, that all attempts are to be made this ſeſſion by the *Pre terians* and their abettors for taking off the teſt; as a kind preparatory ſtep to make it go down ſmoother in England. I if once *their light would ſo ſhine*, the *Papiſts* delighted with blaze would all come in and dance about it. This I take be a prudent method; like that of a diſcreet phyſician, who f gives a new medicine to a *dog*, before he preſcribes it to a l man creature." ----- I have quoted this ſhort paſſage for ſtyle, as well as the matter; and I dare ſay, even from he you will be confirmed in one general obſervation, that Sw maintains and conducts his metaphors and alluſions, with a ju neſs particularly delicate and exact, and without the leaſt ſh neſs or affectation. I have formerly mentioned in what deg of contempt and hatred he held the Diſſenters, eſpecially t Preſbyterians [above, p. 235.]; and I need only add, that this pamphlet was written for the meridian of Ireland, it ou to have been placed with the other tracts on the ſame ſubje *Orrery*.------ And ſo it is placed in this edition.

T

The *Presbyterians* have, ever since the revolution, directed their learned casuists to employ their pens on this subject, by shewing the merits and pretensions upon which they claim this justice, as founded upon the services they did towards the restoration of King Charles II., and at the *revolution* under the Prince of Orange. Which pleas I take to be the most singular in their kind, that ever were offered in the face of the sun, against the most glaring lights of truth, and against a continuation of public facts known to all Europe for twenty years together. I shall therefore impartially examine the merits and conduct of the *Presbyterians* upon these two great events, and the pretensions to favour which they challenge upon them.

Soon after the reformation of the church in England under Edward VI. upon Queen Mary's succeeding to the crown (who restored *Popery*), many *Protestants* fled out of England to escape the persecution raised against the church, as her brother had left it established. Some of these exiles went to Geneva; which city had received the doctrine of Calvin, and rejected the government of bishops; with many other refinements. These English exiles readily embraced the Geneva system; and having added further improvements of their own, upon Queen Mary's death returned to England; where they preached up their new opinions, inveighing bitterly against *Episcopacy*, and all rites and ceremonies, however innocent and ancient in the church; building upon this foundation, to run as far as possible from *Popery* even in the most minute and indifferent circumstances. This faction, under the name of *Puritan*, became very turbulent during the whole reign of Queen Elisabeth, and were always discouraged by that wise Queen, as well as by her two successors. However, their numbers as well as their insolence and perverseness so far increased, that soon after the death of King James I. many instances of their petulancy and scurrility are to be seen in their pamphlets written for some years after (which was a trade they began in the days of Queen Elisabeth), particularly with great rancour against the bishops, the habits, and the ceremonies: such were those *scurrilous* libels under the title of Martin Marprelate, *and several* others. And although the Earl of

Clarendon tells us, until the year 1640 (as I remember the kingdom was in a ſtate of perfect peace and happineſs without the leaſt appearance of thought or deſign toward making any alterations in religion or government; yet have found by often rummaging for old books in Little Britain and Ducklane, a great number of pamphlets printed from the year 1630 to 1640, full of as bold and impious railing expreſſions againſt the lawful power of the crown, and the order of biſhops, as ever were uttered during the rebellion or the whole ſubſequent tyranny of that fanatic anarchy. However, I find it manifeſt, that *Puritaniſm* did not erect itſelf into a new ſeparate ſpecies of religion till ſome time after the rebellion began. For in the latter times of King James I. and the former part of his ſon, there were ſeveral *Puritan* biſhops and many *Puritan* private clergymen; while people were as their inclinations led them to hear preachers of each party in the pariſh-churches, for the *Puritan* clergy had received Epiſcopal orders as well as the reſt. But ſoon after the rebellion broke out, the term *Puritan* gradually dropt, and that of *Presbyterian* ſucceeded; which ſect was in two or three years eſtabliſhed in all its forms, by what they called an ordinance of the Lords and Commons, without conſulting the King, who was then at war againſt his rebels. And from this period the church continued under perſecution, until monarchy was reſtored in the year 1660.

In a year or two after we began to hear of a new party riſen, and growing in the parliament as well as the army under the name of *Independent*: it ſpread indeed ſomewhat more in the latter; but not equal with the *Presbyterians* either in weight or number, until the very time the King was murdered.

When the King, who was then a priſoner in the iſle of Wight, had made his laſt conceſſions for a peace to the commiſſioners of the parliament, who attended him there upon their return to London they reported his Majeſty's anſwer in the houſe. Whereupon a number of moderate members, who, as Ludlow ſays, had ſecured their own terms with that prince, managed with ſo much art as

n a majority in a thin houſe, for paſſing a vote, that *King's conceſſions were a ground for a future ſettle-*. But the great officers of the army, joining with the atented members, came to a reſolution of excluding all who had conſented to that vote; which they exe- in a military way. Ireton told Fairfax the general, id *Preſbyterian*, of this reſolution; who thereupon his orders for drawing out the army the next morn- and placing guards in Weſtminſter-hall, the *court of ſts*, and the *lobby*; who, in obedience to the General, njunction with thoſe members who had oppoſed the would let no member enter the houſe except thoſe of own party. Upon which the queſtion for bringing ing to juſtice was immediately put, and carried with- ppoſition that I can find. Then an order was made s trial; the time and place appointed; the judges d, of whom Fairfax himſelf was one; although by dvice or threats of his wife he declined ſitting among . However, by freſh orders under his own hand, I have ſent in print, he appointed guards to attend the s at the trial, and to keep the city in quiet; as he did iſe to prevent any oppoſition from the people upon ay of execution.

om what I have already deduced it appears manifeſt, he differences between thoſe two ſects, *Preſbyterian Independent*, did not then amount to half ſo much as there is between a *Whig* and *Tory* at preſent among The deſign of utterly extirpating monarchy and Epi- cy was equally the ſame in both: evidently the con- nce of the very ſame principles, upon which the *Preſ- ians* alone began, continued, and would have ended ſame events; if towards the concluſion they had not bearded by that new party, with whom they could gree about dividing the ſpoil. However, they held a ſhare of civil and military employments during the e time of the uſurpation; and their names, actions, preferments, are frequent in the accounts of thoſe . For I make no doubt, that all the prudent *Preſ- ians* complied in proper ſeaſons, falling in with the n; and thereby got that ſhare in employments which

many of them held to the reſtoration; and perhaps t many of them after. In the ſame manner we find our ſelf *Tories* in both kingdoms, upon the change of har and meaſures at the Queen's death, have endeavoured ſeveral years by due compliances to recover the time th had loſt by a temporary obſtinacy; wherein they have ſucceeded, acording to their degrees of merit; of wh names I could here make honourable mention, if I did fear it might offend their modeſty. As to what is alledg that ſome of the *Presbyterians* declared openly againſt King's murder; I allow it to be true. But from what tives? No other can poſſibly be aſſigned than perfect ſp rage, and envy, to find themſelves wormed out of power by a new infant-ſpawn of *Independents* ſprung fr their own bowels. It is true, the differences in religi tenets between them are very few and trifling; the cl quarrel, as far as I remember, relating to congregational national aſſemblies. But where-ever intereſt or power th fit to interfere, it little imports what principles the op ſite parties think fit to charge upon each other: for we at this day, that the *Tories* are more hated by the wh ſect of zealous *Whigs*, than the very *Papiſts* themſelv and in effect as much unqualified for the ſmalleſt offic although both theſe parties aſſert themſelves to be of ſame religion in all its branches of doctrine and diſcipli and profeſs the ſame loyalty to the ſame *Proteſtant* K and his heirs.

If the reader would know what became of this *In pendent* party, upon whom all the miſchief is charged their *Presbyterian* brethren, he may pleaſe to obſerve, t during the whole uſurpation they contended by degrees w their parent ſect, and, as I have already ſaid, ſhared in e ployments; and gradually, after the reſtoration, ming with the maſs of *Presbyterians*; lying ever ſince undiſ guiſhed in the herd of *Diſſenters*.

The *Presbyterian* merit is of as little weight, wl they alledge themſelves inſtrumental towards the Kir reſtoration. The kingdom grew tired with thoſe ridi lous models of government: firſt, by a houſe of Lords Commons without a King; then without Biſhops; aft

wa

wards by a Rump * and Lords Temporal; then by a Rump lone; next by a ſingle perſon for life, in conjunction with Council; by Agitators; by Major-generals; by a new ind of Repreſentatives from the three kingdoms; by the Keepers of the Liberties of England; with other ſchemes hat have ſlipt out of my memory. Cromwell was dead; is ſon Richard, a weak ignorant wretch, who gave up his monarchy much in the ſame manner with the two uſurping Kings of Brentford †; the people haraſſed with taxes and ther oppreſſions. The king's party, then called the *Cavaiers*, began to recover their ſpirits. The few nobility ſcatered through the kingdom, who lived in a moſt retired nannner, obſerving the confuſion of things, could no longer ndure to be ridden by bakers, coblers, brewers, and the ike at the head of armies, and plundering every where ike French dragoons. The *Rump* aſſembly grew deſpiable to thoſe who had raiſed them: the city of London exhauſted by almoſt twenty years contributing to their own ruin, declared againſt them. The *Rump*, after many deaths and reſurrections, was in the moſt contemptuous manner kicked out, and burnt in effigy. The excluded members were let in: a free parliament called in as legal a manner as the times would allow; and the King reſtored.

The ſecond claim of *Presbyterian* merit is founded upon their ſervices againſt the dangerous deſigns of King James II. while that prince was uſing all his endeavours to introduce *Popery*, which he openly profeſſed upon his coming to the crown; to this they add their eminent ſervices at the revolution under the Prince of Orange.

Now, the *quantum* of *Presbyterian* merit during the four years reign of that weak, bigotted, and ill-adviſed prince, as well as at the time of the revolution, will eaſily be computed by a recourſe to a great number of hiſtories, pamphlets, and public papers, printed in thoſe times and ſome afterwards; beſides the verbal teſtimonies of many perſons yet alive, who are old enough to have

* This name was given to that part of the houſe of Commons, which remained after the moderate men had been expelled by military force. *Hawkeſ*

† In the Rehearſal. *Hawkeſ.*

known and obſerved the *Diſſenters* conduct in that critical period.

It is agreed, that upon King Charles II.'s death, ſoon after his ſucceſſor had publicly owned himſelf a Roman *Catholic*, he began with his firſt careſſes to the church-party; from whom having received very cold diſcouraging anſwers, he applied to the *Preſbyterian* leaders and teachers; being adviſed by his prieſts and *Popiſh* courtiers, that the ſafeſt method towards introducing his own religion would be by taking off the *ſacramental teſt*, and giving a full liberty of conſcience to all religions, (I ſuppoſe that profeſſed Chriſtianity). It ſeems that the *Preſbyterians* in the latter years of King Charles II. upon account of certain plots (allowed by Biſhop Burnet to be genuine) had been for a ſhort time forbid to hold their conventicles. Whereupon theſe charitable Chriſtians, out of perfect reſentment againſt the church, received the gracious offers of King James with the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of loyalty, and higheſt acknowledgments for his favour. I have ſeen ſeveral of their addreſſes, full of thanks and praiſes, with bitter inſinuations of what they had ſuffered; putting themſelves and the *Papiſts* upon the ſame foot, as fellow-ſufferers for conſcience; and with the ſtyle of *our brethren the Roman Catholics*. About this time began the project of *doſeting*, (which hath ſince been practiſed many times with more art and ſucceſs), where the principal gentlemen of the kingdom were privately catechiſed by his Majeſty, to know whether, if a new parliament were called, they would agree to paſs an act for repealing the *ſacramental teſt*, and eſtabliſhing a general liberty of conſcience. But he received ſo little encouragement, that deſpairing of ſucceſs, he had recourſe to his diſpenſing power, which the judges had determined to be part of his prerogative. By colour of this determination he preferred ſeveral *Preſbyterians*, and many *Papiſts*, to civil and military employments. While the King was thus buſied, it is well known that Monſieur Fagel, the Dutch envoy in London, delivered the opinion of the Prince and Princeſs of Orange, concerning the repeal of the *teſt*; whereof the King had ſent an account to their Highneſſes, to know how far they approved of it. The ſubſtance of their anſwer, as reported by Fagel, was this:

this, *That their Highneſſes thought very well of a liberty of conſcience; but by no means of giving employments to any other perſons than thoſe who were of the national church.* This opinion was confirmed by ſeveral reaſons: I cannot be more particular, not having the paper by me, although it hath been printed in many accounts of thoſe times. And thus much every moderate churchman would perhaps ſubmit to: but to truſt any part of the civil power in the hands of thoſe, whoſe intereſt, inclination, conſcience, and former practices have been wholly turned to introduce a different ſyſtem of religion and government, hath very few examples in any Chriſtian ſtate; nor any at all in Holland, the great patroneſs of univerſal toleration.

Upon the firſt intelligence King James received of an intended invaſion by the Prince of Orange, among great numbers of *Papiſts* to increaſe his troops he gave commiſſions to ſeveral *Presbyterians*; ſome of whom had been officers under the *Rump*; and particularly he placed one Richards, a noted *Presbyterian*, at the head of a regiment, who had been governor of Wexford in Cromwell's time, and is often mentioned by Ludlow in his memoirs. This regiment was raiſed in England againſt the Prince of Orange: the Colonel made his ſon a captain, whom I knew, and who was as zealous a *Presbyterian* as his father. However, at the time of the Prince's landing, the father, eaſily foreſeeing how things would go, went over, like many others, to the Prince, who continued him in his regiment; but coming over a year or two after, to aſſiſt in raiſing the ſiege of Derry, he behaved himſelf ſo like either a coward or a traitor, that his regiment was taken from him.

I will now conſider the conduct of the church-party during the whole reign of that unfortunate King. They were ſo unanimous againſt promiſing to paſs an act for repealing the teſt, and eſtabliſhing a general liberty of conſcience, that the King durſt not truſt a parliament; but encouraged by the profeſſions of loyalty given him by his *Presbyterian* friends, went on with his diſpenſing power.

The church-clergy at that time are allowed to have written the beſt collection of tracts againſt *Popery*, that ever appeared in England; which are to this day in the *higheſt eſteem*. But, upon the ſtricteſt inquiry, I could never

never hear of above one or two papers publiſhed by the *Preſbyterians* at that time upon the ſame ſubject. Seven great Prelates (he of Canterbury among the reſt) were ſent to the tower for preſenting a petition, wherein they deſired to be excuſed in not obeying an illegal command from the King. The Biſhop of London, Dr Compton, was ſummoned to anſwer before the commiſſioners for eccleſiaſtical affairs, for not ſuſpending Dr Sharp (afterwards Archbiſhop of York) by the King's command. If the *Preſbyterians* expreſſed the ſame zeal upon any occaſion, the inſtances of it are not, as I can find, left upon record, or tranſmitted by tradition. The proceedings againſt Magdalen *college* in Oxford, for refuſing to comply with the King's mandate for admitting a profeſſed *Papiſt* upon their foundation, are a ſtanding proof of the courage and firmneſs in religion ſhewn by that learned ſociety to the ruin of their fortunes. The *Preſbyterians* know very well, that I could prduce many more inſtances of the ſame kind. But theſe are enough in ſo ſhort a paper as I intend at preſent.

It is indeed very true, that after King William was ſettled on the Engliſh throne, the *Preſbyterians* began to appear, and offer their credentials, and demand favour: and the new King having been originally bred a Calviniſt, was deſirous enough to make them eaſy (if that would do it) by a legal toleration; although in his heart he never bore much affection to that ſect; nor deſigned to favour them farther than as it ſtood with the preſent ſcheme of politics; as I have long ſince been aſſured by the greateſt men of Whig principles at that time in England.

It is likewiſe true, nor will it be denied, that when the King was poſſeſſed of the Engliſh crown, and the remainder of the quarrel was left to be decided in this kingdom; the *Preſbyterians* wiſely choſe to join with the *Proteſtant* army, rather than with that of King James their old friend, whoſe affairs were then in a manner deſperate. They were wiſe enough to know, that this kingdom divided againſt itſelf could never prevail againſt the united power of England. They fought *pro aris et focis*; for their eſtates and religion; which latter will never ſuffer ſo much by the church of England, as by that of Rome, where they are counted heretics as well as we: and conſequent-

ly they have no other game to play. But what merit they can build upon having joined with a *Proteſtant* army, under a King they acknowledged, to defend their own liberties and properties againſt a *Popiſh* enemy under an abdicated King, is, I confeſs, to me abſolutely inconceivable; and, I believe, will equally be ſo for ever to any reaſonable man.

When theſe ſectaries were ſeveral years ago making the ne attempt for aboliſhing the teſt, many groundleſs reports were induſtriouſly and ſeaſonably ſpread of an invaon threatened by the *pretender* on the north of Ireland. which time the *Presbyterians* in their pamphlets ared in a menacing manner, that if the *pretender* ſhould ade thoſe parts of the kingdom where the numbers d eſtates of the Diſſenters chiefly lay, they would ſit l, and *let us fight our own battles*; ſince they were to ip no advantage, which ever ſide ſhould be victors. If s were the courſe they intended to take in ſuch a caſe, leſire to know, how they could contrive ſafely to ſtand uters, otherwiſe than by a compact with the *pretend-* and his army to ſupport their neutrality, and protect em againſt the forces of the crown? This is a neceſſary ppoſition; becauſe they muſt otherwiſe have inevitably een a prey to both. However, by this frank declaration ney ſufficiently ſhewed their good-will, and confirmed he common charge laid at their door, that a Scottiſh or orthern *Presbyterian* hates our Epiſcopal eſtabliſhed hurch more than *Popery* itſelf. And the reaſon for this atred is natural enough; becauſe it is the church alone hat ſtands in the way between them and power; which *Popery* doth not.

Upon this occaſion I am in ſome doubt, whether the political ſpreaders of thoſe chimerical invaſions made a judicious choice in fixing the northern parts of Ireland for that romantic enterpriſe. Nor can I well underſtand the wiſdom of the *Presbyterians* in countenancing and confirming thoſe reports; becauſe it ſeems to caſt a moſt infamous reflection upon the loyalty and religious principles of their whole body: for if there had been any truth in the matter, the conſequence muſt have been allowed, that the *pretender* counted upon more aſſiſtance from his father's

father's friends the *Presbyterians* by chuſing to land in thoſe very parts, where their number, wealth, and power moſt prevailed, rather than among thoſe of his own religion. And therefore in charity to this ſect I rather incline to believe, that thoſe reports of an invaſion were formed and ſpread by the race of ſmall politicians, in order to do a ſeaſonable job.

As to *Popery* in general, which for a thouſand years paſt hath been introducing and multiplying corruptions both in doctrine and diſcipline; I look upon it to be the moſt abſurd ſyſtem of Chriſtianity profeſſed by any nation. But I cannot apprehend this kingdom to be in much danger from it. The eſtates of Papiſts are very few; crumbling into ſmall parcels, and daily diminiſhing; their common people are ſunk in poverty, ignorance, and cowardice; and of as little conſequence as women and children. Their nobility and gentry are at leaſt one half ruined, baniſhed, or converted: they all ſoundly feel the ſmart of what they ſuffered in the laſt Iriſh war: ſome of them are already retired into foreign countries; others, as I am told, intend to follow them; and the reſt, I believe to a man, who ſtill poſſeſs any lands, are abſolutely determined never to hazard them again for the ſake of eſtabliſhing their ſuperſtition. If it hath been thought fit, as ſome obſerve, to abate of the law's rigour againſt *Popery* in this kingdom, I am confident it was done for very wiſe reaſons, conſidering the ſituation of affairs abroad at different times, and the intereſt of the *Proteſtant* religion in general. And as I do not find the leaſt fault in this proceeding; ſo I do not conceive why a ſunk, diſcarded party, who neither expect nor deſire any thing more than a quiet life, ſhould under the names of *High-fliers*, *Jacobites*, and many other vile appellations, be charged ſo often in print and at common tables with endeavouring to introduce *Popery* and the *pretender*; while the *Papiſts* abhor them above all other men on account of ſeverities againſt their prieſts in her late Majeſty's reign, when the *now diſbanded reprobate party* was in power. This I was convinced of ſome years ago by a long journey into the ſouthern parts; where I had the curioſity to ſend for *many* prieſts of the pariſhes I paſſed through, and to my great

ſatisfaction found them every where abounding in
ions of loyalty to the late King George; for which
ave me the reaſons above mentioned; at the ſame
›mplaining bitterly of the hardſhips they ſuffered un-
: Queen's *laſt miniſtry*.

turn from this digreſſion to the modeſt demands of
esbyterians for a repeal of the *ſacramental teſt*, as
rd for their merits at the *reſtoration* and the *revolu-*
which merits I have fairly repreſented, as well as
mory would allow me. If I have committed any
:s, they muſt be of little moment. The facts and
al circumſtances are what I have obtained and digeſt-
n reading the hiſtories of thoſe times written by each
and many thouſands have done the ſame as well as
› I am ſure have in their minds drawn the ſame con-
s.

s is the faction, and theſe the men, who are now
ng their applications, and giving in their bills of me-
both kingdoms upon two points, which of all others
ıave the leaſt pretenſions to offer. I have collected
.cts with all poſſible impartiality from the current
es of thoſe times; and have ſhewn, although very
', the gradual proceedings of thoſe ſectaries, under
:nominations of *Puritans*, *Presbyterians*, and *Inde-*
nts, for about the ſpace of an hundred and eighty
, from the beginning of Queen Eliſabeth to this pre-
ime. But notwithſtanding all that can be ſaid, theſe
ſchiſmatics (for ſuch they are in temporals as well as
ıals) are now again expecting, ſoliciting, and demand-
(not without inſinuated threats, according to their
n), that the parliament ſhould fix them upon an equal
with the church eſtabliſhed. I would fain know to
branch of the legiſlature they can have the forehead
ply. Not to my Lords the Biſhops; who muſt have
read how the predeceſſors of this very faction, acting
the ſame principles, drove the whole bench out of
ouſe; who were then, and hitherto continue, one of
hree eſtates: not to the temporal peers, the ſecond of
:hree eſtates, who muſt have heard, that immediately
· thoſe rebellious fanatics had murdered their King,
· voted a houſe of Lords to be uſeleſs and dangerous,

and

and would let them ſit no longer, otherwiſe than when elected as Commoners: not to the houſe of Commons; who muſt have heard, that in thoſe fanatic times the *Presbyterian* and *Independent* commanders in the army by military power expelled all the moderate men out of the houſe, and left a *rump* to govern the nation: laſtly not to the crown; which thoſe very *ſaints* deſtined *to rule the earth* trampled under their feet, and then in cold blood murdered the bleſſed wearer.

But the ſeſſion now approaching, and a clan of diſſenting teachers being come up to town from their northern head quarters, accompanied by many of their elders and agents and ſupported by a general contribution to ſolicit the eſtabliſhment with a capacity of holding all military as well as civil employments, I think it high time that this paper ſhould ſee the light. However, I cannot conclude without freely confeſſing, that if the *Presbyterians* ſhould obtain their ends, I could not be ſorry to find them mistaken in the point, which they have moſt at heart by the repeal of the *teſt:* I mean the benefit of employment. For after all, what aſſurance can a Scottiſh northern Diſſenter born on Iriſh ground have, that he ſhall be treated with as much favour as a *TRUE SCOT* born beyond the Tweed?

I am ready enough to believe, that all I have ſaid will avail but little. I have the common excuſe of other men when I think myſelf bound by all religious and civil ties to diſcharge my conſcience, and to warn my countrymen to on this important occaſion. It is true, the advocates for this ſcheme promiſe a new world after this bleſſed work ſhall be completed; that all animoſity and faction muſt immediately drop; that the only diſtinction in this kingdom will then be of *Papiſt* and *Proteſtant:* for as to *Whig* and *Tory*, *high-church* and *low-church*, *Jacobite* and *Hanoverian*, *court* and *country party*, *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* intereſts, *Diſſenters* and *Conformiſts*, *new light* and *old light*, *Anabaptiſt* and *Independent*, *Quaker* and *Muggletonian;* they will all meet and jumble together into a perfect harmony at the ſeſſions and aſſizes, on the bench and in the revenues, and upon the whole, in all civil and military truſts, not excepting the great councils of the nation

For it is wiſely argued thus: That a kingdom being no more than a larger knot of friends met together, it is againſt the rules of good manners to ſhut any perſon out of the company, except the *Papiſts*, who profeſs themſelves of another club.

I am at a loſs to know, what arts the *Presbyterian* ſect intends to uſe in convincing the world of their loyalty to kingly government, which, (long before the prevalence, or even the birth of their *Independent* rivals), as ſoon as the King's forces were overcome, declared their principles to be againſt monarchy, as well as Epiſcopacy and the houſe of Lords, even until the King was reſtored: at which event although they were forced to ſubmit to the preſent power, yet I have not heard, that they did ever to this day renounce any one principle, by which their predeceſſors then acted; yet this they have been challenged to do, or at leaſt to ſhew that others have done it for them, by a certain * Doctor, who, as I am told, hath much employed his pen in the like diſputes. I own they will be ready enough to inſinuate themſelves into any government: but if they mean to be honeſt and upright, they will and muſt endeavour by all means, which they ſhall think lawful, to introduce and eſtabliſh their own ſcheme of religion, as neareſt approaching to the word of God, by caſting out all ſuperſtitious ceremonies, eccleſiaſtical titles, habits, diſtinctions, and ſuperiorities, as rags of *Popery*, in order to a *thorough reformation*: and as in charity bound to promote the ſalvation of their countrymen, wiſhing with St Paul, *that the whole kingdom were as they are*. But what aſſurance will they pleaſe to give, that when their ſect ſhall become the national eſtabliſhed worſhip, they will treat US DISSENTERS as we have treated them? Was this their courſe of proceeding during the dominion of the *ſaints?* Were not all the remainders of the Epiſcopal church in thoſe days, eſpecially the clergy, under a perſecution for above a dozen years equal to that of the primitive Chriſtians under Heathen emperors? That this proceeding was ſuitable to their principles, is known enough; for many of their preachers then writ books expreſsly a-

* The late Dr Tiſdel, who died June 1736.

gainſt allowing any liberty of conſcience in a reli
different from their own; producing many argum
to prove that opinion, and among the reſt one frequ
ly inſiſted on; that allowing ſuch a liberty would b
eſtabliſh iniquity by a law *. Many of theſe writing
yet to be ſeen; and I hear have been quoted by the D
above mentioned.

As to their great objection of proſtituting that hol
ſtitution, the bleſſed ſacrament, by way of a teſt b
admittance into any employment; I aſk, whether
would not be content to receive it *after their own*
ner for the office of a judge, for that of a commiſſi
in the revenue, for a regiment of horſe, or to be a
juſtice. I believe they would ſcruple it as little, as a
grace before and after dinner, which they can ſay wit
bending a knee; for as I have been told, their manne
taking bread and wine in their conventicles is perfor
with little more ſolemnity than at their common m
And therefore, ſince they look upon our practice in r
ving the elements to be idolatrous, they neither can
ought in conſcience to allow us that liberty, other
than by connivance, and a bare toleration, like wh
permitted to the *Papiſts*. *But leſt we ſhould o*
them, I am ready to change this teſt for another; althe
I am afraid, that ſanctified reaſon is by no means the
where the difficulty pinches, and is only offered by
tended churchmen; as if they could be content with
believing, that the impiety and profanation of making
ſacrament a teſt were the only objection. I therefore
poſe, that before the preſent law be repealed, another
be enacted; that no man ſhall receive any employment
fore he ſwears himſelf to be a true member of the chu
of Ireland, in doctrine and diſcipline, *&c.* and that he
never frequent or communicate with any other form
worſhip. It ſhall likewiſe be further enacted, That w
ever offends, *&c.* ſhall be fined five hundred pounds,
priſoned for a year and a day, and rendered incapabl
all public truſt for ever. Otherwiſe I do inſiſt, that th

* See many hundred quotations to prove this, in the tre
called, *Scotch Preſbyterian Eloquence.*

, indulgent, external profeſſors of our national reli-
ſhall either give up that fallacious hypocritical reaſon
aking off the teſt, or freely confeſs, that they deſire
ve a gate wide open for every ſect without any teſt
, except that of ſwearing loyalty to the King: which
ver, conſidering their principles with regard to mo-
y yet unrenounced, might, if they would pleaſe to
deep enough into their own hearts, prove a more bit-
ſt, than any other that the law hath yet invented.
r from the firſt time that theſe ſectaries appeared in
'orld, it hath been always found by their whole pro-
ngs, that they profeſſed an utter hatred to kingly
nment. I can recollect at preſent three civil eſta-
nents, where Calviniſts and ſome other reformers
rejected *Epiſcopacy*, poſſeſs the ſupreme power; and
are all republics; I mean, Holland, Geneva, and
eformed Swiſs cantons. I do not ſay this in diminu-
or diſgrace to commonwealths; wherein I confeſs I
much altered many opinions under which I was edu-
, having been led by ſome obſervation, long experience,
thorough deteſtation for the corruptions of mankind:
much that I am now juſtly liable to the cenſure of
es, who complains, that the youth of England im-
ill opinions from reading the hiſtories of ancient
ce and Rome, thoſe renowned ſcenes of liberty and
virtue.
it as to monarchs, who muſt be ſuppoſed well to ſtudy
underſtand their own intereſt; they will beſt conſi-
whether thoſe people, who in all their actions, preach-
and writings have openly declared themſelves againſt
power, are to be ſafely placed in an equal degree
avour and truſt with thoſe who have been always
d the true and only friends to the Engliſh eſtabliſh-
. From which conſideration, I could have added one
article to my new teſt, if I had thought it worth my

have been aſſured by ſome perſons who were preſent,
ſeveral of theſe diſſenting teachers, upon their firſt
al hither to ſolicit the repeal of the teſt, were plea-
to expreſs their gratitude by publicly drinking the
lth of *certain* eminent patrons, whom they pretend to

a man, and in their self-will they digged
Curſed be their anger, for it was fierce; and
for it was cruel. I will divide them in
ſcatter them in Iſrael.

The ADVANTAGES propoſed by repealing the SACRAMENTAL TEST, impartially conſidered.

Written in the year 1732.

WHoever writes impartially upon this ſubject, muſt do it not only as a mere ſecular man, but as one ho is altogether indifferent to any particular ſyſtem of hriſtianity. And I think, in whatever country that reli-on predominates, there is one certain form of worſhip and :remony, which is looked upon as the eſtabliſhed; and onſequently, only the prieſts of that particular form are aintained at the public charge; and all civil employments :ſtowed among thoſe who comply (at leaſt outwardly) ith the ſame eſtabliſhment.

This method is ſtrictly obſerved, even by our neigh-ours the Dutch, who are confeſſed to allow the fulleſt erty of conſcience of any Chriſtian ſtate; and yet are :ver known to admit any perſons into civil offices, who do ot conform to the legal worſhip. As to their military en, they are indeed not ſo ſcrupulous; being by the na-re of their government under a neceſſity of hiring foreign oops of whatever religious denomination upon every eat emergency, and maintaining no ſmall number in time f peace.

This caution therefore of making one eſtabliſhed faith ems to be univerſal, and founded upon the ſtrongeſt rea-ns, the miſtaken or affected zeal of obſtinacy and en-uſiaſm having produced ſuch a number of horrible de-uctive events throughout all Chriſtendom. For who-er begins to think the national worſhip is wrong in any portant article of practice or belief, will, if he be ſeri-s, naturally have a zeal to make as many proſelytes as : can: and a nation may poſſibly have an hundred dif-rent ſects with their leaders; every one of which hath equal *right to plead*, that they muſt obey God rather than

than man; muſt *cry aloud and ſpare not;* m
their voice like a trumpet.

This was the very caſe of England during t
times. And againſt all this there ſeems to be n
but that of ſupporting one eſtabliſhed form of dc
diſcipline; leaving the reſt to a bare liberty of c
but without any maintenance or encouragement
public.

Where-ever this national religion grows ſo c
is thought to do ſo by a very great majority
people joined to the governing party, whethe
ſenate, or both, it ought to be changed; provide
might be done without blood or confuſion. Yet,
ſuch a change ſhall be made, ſome other eſtabliſh
ſucceed, although for the worſe; allowing all
that would break the union, to be only tolerated
ſenſe, thoſe who affirm that every law which i
to the law of God, is void in itſelf, ſeem to be
for many laws in *Popiſh* kingdoms and ſtates, r
among the Turks, and perhaps not a few in o
tries, are directly againſt the divine laws; and
knows, are very far from being void in the
part.

Thus, for inſtance, if the three eſtates of par
England (whereof the Lords Spiritual, who rep
church, are one) ſhould agree and obtain the re
to aboliſh Epiſcopacy, together with the liturgy
whole frame of the Engliſh church, as *burthenſ*
gerous, and contrary to holy ſcripture; and
bytery, Anabaptiſm, Quakeriſm, Independency
tonianiſm, Browniſm, Familiſm, or any other
ſect among us, ſhould be eſtabliſhed in its place
queſtion all peaceable ſubjects ought paſſively
and the predominant ſect muſt become the reli
bliſhed; the public maintaining no other teacher
mitting any perſons of a different religious prof
civil offices, at leaſt if their intention be to pr
nation in peace.

Suppoſing then, that the preſent ſyſtem of reli
aboliſhed; and *Presbytery*, which I find ſtands t
with its ſynods and claſſes, and all its forms an

nies essential or circumstantial, were erected into the national worship: their teachers, and no others, could have any legal claim to be supported at the public charge, whether by stipends or tithes; and only the rest of the same faith to be capable of civil employments.

If there be any true reasoning in what I have laid down, it should seem, that the project now in agitation for repealing the *test-act*, and yet leaving the name of an establishment to the present national church, is altogether inconsistent; and may admit of consequences, which those who are the most indifferent to any religion at all, are possibly not aware of.

I presume, whenever the *test* shall be repealed, which obliges all men who enter into office under the crown, to receive the sacrament according to the rites of the church of Ireland; the way to employments will immediately be left open to all *Dissenters*, (except *Papists*), whose consciences can suffer them to take the common oaths in such cases prescribed; after which, they are qualified to fill any sky-station in this kingdom, from that of chief governor to an excise-man.

Thus, of the three judges on each bench the first may be a *Presbyterian*, the second a *free-will Baptist*, and the third a *Churchman*; the *Lord Chancellor* may be an *Independent*; the revenues may be managed by seven commissioners of as many different sects; and the like of all other employments: not to mention the strong probability, that the lawfulness of taking oaths may be *revealed* to the Quakers, who then will stand upon as good a foot for preferment, as any other loyal subjects. It is obvious to imagine, under such a motley administration of affairs, what a clashing there will be of interest and inclinations; what pullings and hawlings backwards and forwards; what a zeal and bias in each religionist to advance his own tribe, and depress the others. For I suppose nothing will be readier granted, than that how indifferent soever most men are in faith and morals, yet, whether out of artifice, natural complexion, or love of contradiction, none are more obstinate in maintaining their own opinions, and worrying all who differ from them,

than

than thoſe who publicly ſhew the leaſt ſenſe e
ligion or common honeſty.

As to the latter, Biſhop Burnet tells us, th
byterians in the fanatic times profeſſed them
above morality; which, as we find in ſome c
tings, was numbered among the *beggarly eleme*
cordingly at this day no ſcruples of conſcience
to conformity are, in any trade or calling, inco
the greateſt fraud, oppreſſion, perjury, or any

This brings to my memory a paſſage in M
a common proſtitute, who, in the ſtorming
when a ſoldier came up to her chamber and
lence to her chaſtity, rather choſe to venture
leaping out of the window than ſuffer a rap
continued her trade of lewdneſs, while ſhe
ſtomers left.

I confeſs, that, in my private judgment,
permiſſion of all ſects whatſoever (except *Pa*
joy employments would be leſs pernicious to
than a fair ſtruggle between two contenders;
the former caſe, ſuch a jumble of principles
bly have the effect of contrary poiſons mingle
which a ſtrong conſtitution might perhaps be a
time to ſurvive.

But however I ſhall take the other and m
ſuppoſition, that this battle for employmen
fought only between the *Presbyterians*, and t
church *yet* eſtabliſhed. I ſhall not enter int
of either ſide by examining, which of the tw
ter ſpiritual œconomy, or which is moſt ſuit
vil conſtitution; but the queſtion turns upon
when the *Presbyterians* ſhall have got their ſ
ployments, (which muſt be one full half, c
cannot look upon themſelves as fairly dealt w
whether they ought not by their own princi
the ſtricteſt rules of conſcience, to uſe the utm
ſkill, power, and influence in order to reduc
kingdom to an uniformity in religion, both as
and diſcipline moſt agreeable to the word of Go
in if they can ſucceed without blood, (as unc
ſent diſpoſition of things it is very poſſible th

o be hoped they will at laſt be ſatisfied: only I would n them of a few difficulties. The firſt is of compro- ng among themſelves that important controverſy about *old light* and the *new*; which otherwiſe may after eſtabliſhment ſplit them as wide as *Papiſt* and *Proteſt-*, *Whig* and *Tory*, or *Churchman* and *Diſſenter*; and equently the work will be to begin again: for in re- us quarrels it is of little moment, how few or ſmall differences are; eſpecially when the diſpute is only a- t power. Thus the zealous *Presbyterians* of the North more alienated from the eſtabliſhed clergy, than from the iſh prieſts; taxing the former with idolatrous worſhip, liſguiſed *Papiſts*, *Ceremony-mongers*, and many other s of art; and this for a very powerful reaſon; becauſe clergy ſtand in their way, which the *Popiſh* prieſts do

Thus I am aſſured that the quarrel between *old* and *light men* is managed with more rage and rancour, than other diſpute of the higheſt importance; and this, be- e it ſerves to leſſen or increaſe their ſeveral congrega- s, from whom they receive their contributions.

nother difficulty, which may imbarraſs the *Presby- ans* after their eſtabliſhment, will be, how to adjuſt r claim of the *kirk*'s independency on the civil power, the conſtitution of this monarchy; a point ſo deli- , that it hath often filled the heads of great patriots dangerous notions of the church-clergy without the ground of ſuſpicion.

s to the *Presbyterians* allowing liberty of conſcience hoſe of Epiſcopal principles, when their own *kirk* ſhall redominant; their writers are ſo univerſally agreed in negative, as well as their practice during Oliver's reign, I believe no reaſonable churchman (who muſt then be *Diſſenter*) will expect it.

ſhall here take notice, that in the diviſion of employ- ts among the *Presbyterians* after this approaching re- of the *teſt-act*, ſuppoſing them in proper time to have qual ſhare, the odds will be three or four to one on r ſide in any farther ſcheme they may have towards ing their religion national. For I reckon all thoſe tlemen ſent over from England, whatever religion they feſs or have been educated in, to be of that party:

ſince

ſince it is no mark of prudence for any perſons to oppoſe the current of a nation, where they are in ſome ſort only ſojourners; unleſs they *have it in direction.*

If there be any maxim in politics not to be controlled it muſt be the following: That thoſe whoſe private intereſt is united with the intereſt of their country, ſuppoſing them to be of equal underſtanding with the reſt of their neighbours, will heartily wiſh, that the nation ſhould thrive. Out of theſe are indubitably excepted all perſons who are ſent from another kingdom to be employed in places of profit or power; becauſe they cannot poſſibly bear any affection to the place where they ſojourn, even for life, their ſole buſineſs being to advance themſelves by following the advice of their *principals.* I except likewiſe thoſe perſons who are taken into offices, although natives of the land; becauſe they are greater gainers while they keep their offices, than they could poſſibly be by mending the miſerable condition of their country.

I except, *thirdly*, all hopers, who by balancing accounts with themſelves turn the ſcale on the ſame ſide; becauſe the ſtrong expectation of a good certain ſalary will outweigh the loſs by bad rents received out of lands in moneyleſs times.

If my Lords the Biſhops, who, I hear, are now employed in a ſcheme for regulating the conduct and maintenance of the inferior clergy, ſhall in their wiſdom and piety, and love of the church, conſent to this repeal of the *teſt*, I have not the leaſt doubt, that the whole reverend body will chearfully ſubmit to their ſpiritual fathers; of whoſe paternal tenderneſs for their welfare they have already found ſo many *amazing* inſtances.

I am not therefore under the leaſt concern about the clergy on this account. They will (*for ſome time*) be no great ſufferers by this repeal; becauſe I cannot recollect among all our ſects any one that giveth latitude enough to take the oaths required at an inſtitution to a church-living; and until that bar ſhall be removed, the preſent Epiſcopal clergy are ſafe for two years. Although it may be thought ſomewhat unequal, that in the *northern* part where there may be three Diſſenters to one Churchman

whole revenue ſhall be ingroſſed by him who hath ſo ll a part of the cure.

It is true indeed, that this diſadvantage which the *ſenters* at preſent lie under, of a diſability to receive rch-preferments, will be eaſily remedied by the repeal he *teſt*. For the *Diſſenting* teachers are under no in-acity of accepting civil and military employments; erein they agree perfectly with the *Popiſh* clergy; a-ng whom great cardinals and prelates have been com-nders of armies, chief miniſters, knights of many or-s, ambaſſadors, ſecretaries of ſtate, and in moſt high ces under the crown; although they aſſert the *indeli-character*, which no ſectaries among us did ever aſ-ie. But, that many, both *Presbyterians* and *Inde-dents*, commanders as well as private ſoldiers, were feſſed preachers in the time of their dominion, is allow-by all. Cromwell himſelf was a preacher; and hath us one of his ſermons in print, exactly in the ſame e and manner with thoſe of our modern *Presbyterian* chers: ſo was Colonel Howard, Sir George Downing, l ſeveral others whoſe names are on record. I can refore ſee no reaſon why a painful *Presbyterian* teacher, ſoon as the *teſt* ſhall be repealed, may not be privi-ed to hold along with the ſpiritual office and ſtipend a nmiſſion in the army or the civil liſt in *commendam*: , as I take it, the church of England is the only body *Chriſtians*, which in effect diſqualifies thoſe who are ployed to preach its doctrine, from ſharing in the civil ver, farther than as ſenators: yet this was a privilege un in times of *Popery*, many hundred years before the *ormation*, and woven with the very inſtitution of our ited monarchy.

There is indeed another method, whereby the ſtipends diſſenting teachers may be raiſed, and the farmer much ieved; if it ſhould be thought proper to reward a peo-ſo deſerving, and ſo loyal by their principles. Every iop upon the vacancy of a church-living can ſequeſter profits for the uſe of the next incumbent. Upon a ſe of half a year the donation falls to the archbiſhop, l after a *full year* to the crown, during pleaſure. *erefore it would be* no hardſhip for any clergyman a-

live,

live, if (in thoſe parts of Ireland, where the number of ſectaries much exceeds that of the conformiſts) the profits, when ſequeſtered, might be applied to the ſupport of the diſſenting teacher, who hath ſo many ſouls to take care of: whereby the poor tenants would be much relieved in thoſe hard times, and in a better condition to pay their rents.

But there is another difficulty in this matter, againſt which a remedy doth not ſo readily occur. For ſuppoſing the *teſt-act* repealed, and the Diſſenters in conſequence fully qualified for all ſecular employments; the queſtion may ſtill be put, whether thoſe of Ireland will be often the perſons on whom they ſhall be beſtowed; becauſe it is imagined, there may be * another *ſeminary* in view, *more numerous* and *more needy*, as well as *more meriting*, and more eaſily contented with ſuch low offices; which ſome nearer neighbours hardly think it worth ſtirring from their chimney-ſides to obtain. And, I am told, it is the common practice of thoſe who are ſkilled in the management of bees, that when they ſee a foreign ſwarm at ſome diſtance, approaching with an intention to plunder their hives, theſe artiſts have a trick to divert them into ſome neighbouring apiary, there to make what havock they pleaſe. This I ſhould not have hinted, if I had not known it already to have gotten ground in many ſuſpecting heads for it is the peculiar talent of this nation to ſee dangers a far off: to all which I can only ſay, that our native *Preſbyterians* muſt by pains and induſtry raiſe ſuch a fund of *merit*, as will anſwer to a birth ſix degrees more to the North. If they cannot arrive at this perfection, as ſeveral of the eſtabliſhed church have compaſſed by indefatigable pains, I do not well ſee how their affairs will much mend by repealing the *teſt*: for to be qualified by law to accept an employment, and yet to be diſqualified in fact, as it will much increaſe the mortification, ſo it will withdraw the pity of many among their wellwiſhers, and utterly deprive them of that *merit* they have ſo long made, of being a loyal, *true Proteſtant* people, perſecuted only for religion.

* Scotland

this happen to be their caſe, they muſt wait maturi-
f time; until they can by prudent, gentle ſteps, make
faith become the religion eſtabliſhed in the nation;
which, I do not in the leaſt doubt, that they will
the moſt effectual methods to ſecure their power a-
ſt thoſe who muſt then be *Diſſenters* in their turn;
reof, if we may form a future opinion from preſent
s, and the diſpoſitions of *Diſſenters*, who love to make
orough reformation, the number and qualities will be
inconſiderable.

hus I have, with the utmoſt ſincerity, after long think-
given my judgment upon this arduous affair; but with
utmoſt deference and ſubmiſſion to public wiſdom and
er.

QUERIES relating to the SACRAMENTAL T

Written in the year 1732.

QUERY, WHether hatred and violence betwee
ties in a ſtate be not more inflan
different views of intereſt, than by the greater or
differences between them either in religion or goverr

Whether it be any part of the queſtion at this
Which of the two religions is worſe, *Popery* or *Fanat*
or not rather, Which of the two (having both th
good will) is in the hopefulleſt condition to r
church ?

Whether the ſectaries, whenever they come to
will not ruin the church as infallibly and effectually
Papiſts ?

Whether the prevailing ſectaries could allow lib
conſcience to *Diſſenters* without belying all their
practice, and almoſt all their former writings ?

Whether many hundred thouſand Scotch Preſby
are not full as virulent againſt the Epiſcopal church,
are againſt the *Papiſts ;* or as they would have u
the *Papiſts* are againſt them ?

Whether the Dutch, who are moſt diſtinguiſhed
lowing liberty of conſcience, do ever admit any p
who profeſs a different ſcheme of worſhip from th
into civil employments, although they may be fo
the nature of their government to receive mercenary
of all religions ?

Whether the *Diſſenters* ever pretended, until
years, to deſire more than a bare toleration ?

Whether, if it be true, what a ſorry pamphle
ſerts, who lately writ for repealing the *teſt*, that th
ſenters in this kingdom are equally numerous w
churchmen, it would not be a neceſſary point of p
by all proper and lawful means to prevent their fur
creaſe ?

The great argument given by thoſe whom they call w churchmen, to juſtify the large tolerations allowed to *iſſenters* hath been, that by ſuch indulgencies the ran- ur of thoſe ſectaries would gradually wear off, many of em would come over to us, and their parties in a little ie crumble to nothing.

Query, Whether if what the above pamphleteer aſſerts, it the ſectaries are equal in numbers with conformiſts be ie, it doth not clearly follow, that thoſe repeated tole- ions have operated directly contrary to what thoſe *low-* urch politicians pretended to foreſee and expect?

Whether any clergyman, however dignified or diſtin- iſhed, if he think his own profeſſion moſt agreeable to ly ſcripture and the primitive church, can really wiſh in heart, that all ſectaries ſhould be upon an equal foot th the churchmen in the point of civil power and employ- nts?

Whether Epiſcopacy, which is held by the church to be livine and apoſtolical inſtitution, be not a fundamental int of religion, particularly in that eſſential one of con- ring holy orders?

Whether, by neceſſary conſequences, the ſeveral expe- nts among the ſectaries to conſtitute their teachers are t abſolutely null and void?

Whether the ſectaries will ever agree to accept ordina- n only from biſhops?

Whether the biſhops and clergy will be content to give Epiſcopacy, as a point indifferent, without which the urch can well ſubſiſt?

Whether that great tenderneſs towards ſectaries, which w ſo much prevails, be chiefly owing to the fears of *pery*, or to that ſpirit of Atheiſm, Deiſm, Scepticiſm, d univerſal immorality, which all good men ſo much la- ent?

Granting *Popery* to have many more errors in religion an any one branch of the ſectaries, let us examine the lions of both, as they have each affected the peace of eſe kingdoms, with allowance for the ſhort time which the ſtaries had to act in, who are in a manner *but of yeſter- y*. The *Papiſts* in the time of King James II. uſed all ideavours to eſtabliſh their ſuperſtition, wherein they fail-

ed by the united power of Engliſh church-Proteſtants with the Prince of Orange's aſſiſtance. But it cannot be aſſerted, that theſe bigotted Papiſts had the leaſt deſign to oppoſe or murder their King, much leſs to aboliſh kingly government; nor was it their intereſt or inclination to attempt either.

On the other ſide, the Puritans, who had almoſt from the beginning of Queen Eliſabeth's reign been a perpetual thorn in the church's ſide, joining with the Scotch enthuſiaſts in the time of King Charles I. were the principal cauſe of the Iriſh *rebellion* and *maſſacre*, by diſtreſſing that prince, and making it impoſſible for him to ſend over timely ſuccours. And after that pious prince had ſatisfied his parliament in every ſingle point to be complained of, the ſame ſectaries, by poiſoning the minds and affections of the people with the moſt falſe and wicked repreſentations of their king, were able in the compaſs of few years to imbroil the three nations in a bloody rebellion at the expenſe of many thouſand lives; to turn the kingly power into anarchy; to murder their prince in the face of the world, and (in their own ſtyle) to deſtroy the church *root and branch*.

The account therefore ſtands thus: The Papiſts aimed at one pernicious act, which was to deſtroy the Proteſtant religion; wherein by God's mercy, and the aſſiſtance of our glorious King William, they abſolutely failed. The ſectaries attempted the three moſt infernal actions that could poſſibly enter into the hearts of men forſaken by God; which were, the murder of a moſt pious King, the deſtruction of the monarchy, and the extirpation of the church; and ſucceeded in them all.

Upon which I put the following queries: Whether any of thoſe ſectaries have ever yet in a ſolemn public manner renounced any one of thoſe principles upon which their predeceſſors then acted?

Whether, conſidering the cruel perſecutions of the Epiſcopal church during the courſe of that horrid rebellion, and the conſequences of it until the happy reſtoration, it is not manifeſt, that the perſecuting ſpirit lies ſo equally divided between the Papiſts and the ſectaries, that a feather would turn the balance on either ſide?

And therefore, laſtly, Whether any perſon of common underſtanding,

ıding, who profeſſeth himſelf a member of the
ſtabliſhed, although perhaps with little inward re-
any religion, (which is too often the caſe), if he
e peace and welfare of his country, can after cool
rejoice to ſee a power placed again in the hands of
s, ſo ambitious, and ſo mercileſs a faction, to act
:he ſame parts a ſecond time ?

her the candour of that expreſſion ſo frequent of
rmons and pamphlets, of the *ſtrength and number*
apiſts *in* Ireland, can be juſtified ? for as to their
however great, it is always magnified in propor-
ıe zeal or politics of the ſpeaker and writer ; but
oſs impoſition upon common reaſon to terrify us
r ſtrength. For Popery, under the circumſtances
this kingdom, although it be offenſive and incon-
:nough from the conſequences it hath to increaſe
e, ſloth, and ignorance, as well as poverty of the
is not properly dangerous in that ſenſe, as ſome
ave us take it ; becauſe it is univerſally hated by
rty of a different religious profeſſion. It is the
of the wiſe ; the beſt topic for clamours of de-
ıen ; but the real terror only of fools. The land-
h intereſt in England far exceeds that among us,
roportion to the wealth and extent of each king-
The little that remains here is daily dropping into
t hands by purchaſe or deſcent : and that affect-
aint of counterfeit converts will fall with the cauſe
ıalf a generation, unleſs it be raiſed or kept alive
inual fund of merit and eloquence. The Papiſts
ly diſarmed : they have neither courage, leaders,
or inclinations to rebel : they want every advan-
:h they formerly poſſeſſed, to follow that trade ;
ein even with thoſe advantages they always miſ
they appear very eaſy and ſatisfied under that con-
which they enjoyed during the whole laſt reign ;
ſcrupled to reproach another party, under which
end to have ſuffered ſo much ſeverity.

:heſe conſiderations I muſt confeſs to have ſuſpend-
of my pity towards the great dreaders of Pope-
ıy of whom appear to be hale, ſtrong, active,
:n ; who, as I am told, eat, drink, and ſleep

heartily; and are very chearful (as they have exceeding good reaſon) upon all other ſubjects. However, I cannot too much commend the generous concern which our neighbours, and others who come from the ſame neighbourhood, are ſo kind to expreſs for us upon this account; although the former be farther removed from the danger of Popery by twenty leagues of ſalt water: but this, I fear, is a digreſſion.

When an artificial report was raiſed here many years ago of an intended invaſion by the *pretender*, (which blew over after it had done its office), the *Diſſenters* argued in their talk and in their pamphlets after this manner, applying themſelves to thoſe of the church: Gentlemen, if the *pretender* had landed, as the law now ſtands, we durſt not aſſiſt you; and therefore, unleſs you take off the *teſt*, whenever you ſhall happen to be invaded in earneſt, if we are deſired to take up arms in your defence, our anſwer ſhall be, Pray, Gentlemen, fight your own battles; we will lie by quietly; conquer your enemies by yourſelves, if you can; we will not do your drudgery. This way of reaſoning I have heard from ſeveral of their chiefs and abettors in an hundred converſations; and have read it in twenty pamphlets: and I am confident it will be offered again, if the project ſhould fail to take off the *teſt*.

Upon which piece of oratory and reaſoning I form the following query. Whether in caſe of an invaſion from the *pretender* (which is not quite ſo probable as from the *Grand Signior*) the *Diſſenters* can with prudence and ſafety offer the ſame plea; except they ſhall have made a previous ſtipulation with the invaders? And whether the free freedom of their religion and trade, their lives, properties, wives and children, are not, and have not always been reckoned, ſufficient motives for repelling invaſion; eſpecially in our ſectaries, who call themſelves the *true Proteſtants* by virtue of their pretended or real fierceneſs againſt *Popery*?

Whether omitting or neglecting to celebrate the day of the martyrdom of the bleſſed King Charles I. injoined by act of parliament, can be juſtly reckoned a particular

a

nd diſtinguiſhing mark of good affection to the preſent overnment?

Whether in thoſe churches where the ſaid day is obſerved, it will fully anſwer the intent of the ſaid act, if he preacher ſhall commend, excuſe, palliate, or extenuate the murder of that royal martyr; and place the guilt f that horrid rebellion with all its conſequences, the folowing uſurpations, the entire deſtruction of the church, he cruel and continual perſecutions of thoſe who could be iſcovered to profeſs its doctrines, with the enſuing Babel f Fanaticiſm, to the account of that bleſſed King, who, y granting the petition of right, and paſſing every bill that ould be aſked for the ſecurity of the ſubject, had, by the onfeſſion of thoſe wicked men before the war began, left hem nothing more to demand?

Whether ſuch a preacher as I have named, (whereof here have been more than one, not many years paſt, even n the preſence of viceroys), who takes that courſe as a means for promotion, may not be thought to ſtep a little out of the common road in a monarchy where the deſcendents of that moſt bleſſed martyr have reigned to this day?

I ground the reaſon of making theſe queries on the title of the act; to which I refer the reader.

REASONS humbly offered to the parliame Ireland for repealing the SACRAME TEST, in favour of the CATHOLICS

Written in the year 1732.

IT is well known, that the firſt conquerors of thi dom were Engliſh *Catholics*, ſubjects to *Catholic* kings, from whom by their valour and they obtained large portions of land, given them a ward for their many victories over the Iriſh: to whi rit our *brethren* the diſſenters of any denomination ever have not the leaſt pretenſions.

• In the years 1732 and 1733, an attempt was made for r the *teſt-act* in Ireland, introductory of a like attempt in I The various arguments for it were anſwered in every but no way more effectually, than by examining what the Preſbyterians had to ſhare in all the privileges of gove either from their own principles and behaviour, or c with thoſe of other ſectaries. Under the former head th fully ſilenced by our author, in *The Preſbyterians plea of partially examined* [above, p. 268]. They are now put ir lance with Papiſts, whom although they have ſometime their brethren in adverſity, yet, when placed in competiti will hate as brethren likewiſe. But let them here diſp preference, and then put in their claim to be a part of bliſhment. *Dub. edit.* 1735.

The author having before examined the Preſbyterian merit, with reſpect to their own principles and practices this tract put them in the balance againſt Papiſts. *Hawk*

This tract is written under the aſſumed character of Catholic; by which means the author attacks his ad with a great advantage. He freely acknowledges the f trocious crimes of the Papiſts; but at the ſame time them ſo ſkilfully, that, from that very acknowledgm

It is confeſſed, that the poſterity of thoſe firſt victorious *tholics* were often forced to riſe in their own defence inſt new colonies from England, who treated them like re native Iriſh with innumerable oppreſſions, depriving m of their lands, and driving them by force of arms o the moſt deſolate parts of the kingdom; till in the rt generation the children of theſe tyrants were uſed the ſame manner by new Engliſh adventurers, which ctice continued for many centuries. But it is agreed all hands, that no inſurrections were ever made, except er great oppreſſions by freſh invaders. Whereas all the ellions of *Puritans*, *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, and er ſectaries, conſtantly began before any provocations re given, except that they were not ſuffered to change government in church and ſtate, and ſeize both into ir own hands; which however at laſt they did with the rder of their king, and of many thouſands of his beſt jects.

The *Catholics* were always defenders of monarchy, as nſtituted in theſe kingdoms; whereas our *brethren* the *iſſenters* were always republicans both in principle and ctice.

It is well known, that all the *Catholics* of theſe king-ms, both prieſts and laity, are true *Whigs*, in the beſt d moſt proper ſenſe of the word; bearing as well in ir hearts, as in their outward profeſſion, an entire loy-ty to the Royal houſe of Hanover, in the perſon and po-rity of George II. againſt the *pretender* and all his *ad-rents*. To which they think themſelves bound in grati-de as well as conſcience, by the lenity wherewith they ve been treated ſince the death of Queen Anne, ſo dif-rent from what they ſuffered in the four laſt years of that

nbles himſelf to aim the heavier blows at the Preſbyterians. paragraph extracted from the pamphlet will exemplify my aning. [Here the particular paſſage is quoted, beginning thus, We allow the *Catholics* to be *brethren* of the Diſſenters," *t. p.* 304. *l.* 14. ending *l.* 37.] ------ The greateſt art, and e keeneſt ſtrokes of irony, diſplay themſelves throughout the hole compoſition: and the concluſion of it is drawn up with mixture of ſerious and ironical arguments that ſeem to defy all ods of refutation. *Orrery.*

princeſs,

princeſs, during the adminiſtration of that *wicked* mini the Earl of Oxford.

The *Catholics* of this kingdom humbly hope, that t have at leaſt as fair a title as any of their *brother* Di ters to the appellation of *Proteſtants*. They have alw *proteſted* againſt the ſelling, dethroning, or murdering t kings; againſt the uſurpations and avarice of the *cour* Rome; againſt *Deiſm*, *Atheiſm*, *Socinianiſm*, *Quaker Muggletonianiſm*, *Fanaticiſm*, *Browniſm*, as well as ag all Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Heretics. Whereas title of *Proteſtants* aſſumed by the whole herd of Di ters (except ourſelves) dependeth entirely upon their *teſting againſt archbiſhops*, *biſhops*, *deans and chapt with their revenues; and the whole hierarchy*; which the very expreſſions uſed in *the Solemn League and C nant* *, where the word *Popery* is only mentioned *ad vidiam*; becauſe the *Catholics* agree with the Epiſc church in thoſe fundamentals.

Although the *Catholics* cannot deny, that in the g rebellion againſt King Chrles I. more ſoldiers of thei ligion were in the parliament-army than in his Maje troops; and that many Jeſuits and Friers went abo the diſguiſe of *Presbyterian* and *Independent* miniſter preach up rebellion, as the beſt hiſtorians of thoſe t inform us; yet the bulk of *Catholics* in both kingdoms ſerved their loyalty entire.

The *Catholics* have ſome reaſon to think it a little h when their enemies will not pleaſe to diſtinguiſh bet the rebellious riot committed by that brutal ruffia Phelim O Neal with his tumultuous crew of rabble, the forces raiſed afterwards by the *Catholic* lords and tlemen of the Engliſh pale in defence of the King, the Engliſh rebellion began. It is well known, tha Majeſty's affairs were in great diſtraction ſome time b by an invaſion of the *covenanting*, Scottiſh, *kirk r*

* A ſolemn league and covenant entered into betweer Scots and Engliſh fanatics in the rebellion againſt King Cha 1643, by which they ſolemnly engaged among other, things, endeavour the extripation of Prelacy, that is, church-go ment by archbiſhops, biſhops, deans, archdeans, and all Epiſcopal officers depending on that hierarchy." *Hawkeſ.*

ıe baſe terms the King was forced to accept, that
ht be kept in quiet at a juncture when he was e-
threatened at home by that fanatic party, which
r ſet all in a flame. And if the *Catholic* army in
ought for their king againſt the forces ſent over
ıarliament then in actual rebellion againſt him,
on of loyal principles can be ſo partial to deny,
did their duty by joining with the Marquis of
ınd other commanders, who bore their commiſſions
King? for which great numbers of them loſt their
forfeited their eſtates; a great part of the latter
w poſſeſſed by many deſcendents from thoſe very
o had drawn their ſwords in the ſervice of that
parliament which cut off his head, and deſtroyed
r. And what is more amazing, although the
ons, when the Iriſh were entirely ſubdued, con-
power under the *rump*, were chief confidents,
ful ſubjects to Cromwell, yet being wiſe enough
e a *reſtoration*, they ſeized the forts and caſtles
of the hands of their *old brethren in rebellion*, for
e of the King; juſt ſaving the tide, and putting in a
nerit ſufficient not only to preſerve the land which
olics loſt by their loyalty, but likewiſe to preſerve
l and military employments, or be higher ad-

inſurrections wherewith the *Catholics* are char-
n the beginning of the ſeventeenth century to the
gliſh rebellion, were occaſioned by many oppreſ-
/ lay under. They had no intention to introduce
ligion, but to enjoy the liberty of preſerving the
very ſame which their anceſtors profeſſed from
that *Chriſtianity* was firſt introduced into this
/hich was by *Catholics*; but whether mingled
ruptions, as ſome pretend, doth not belong to the
They had no deſign to change the government;
er attempted to fight againſt, to impriſon, to be-
ſell, to bring to a trial, or to murder their king.
ſmatics acted by a ſpirit directly contrary; they
a *ſolemn league and covenant* to alter the whole
f ſpiritual government eſtabliſhed in all Chriſtian
and of apoſtolic inſtitution; concluding the tra-

gedy

gedy with the murder of the King in cold blood, and upon mature deliberation; at the ſame time changing the monarchy into a commonwealth.

The *Catholics* of Ireland in the great rebellion loſt their eſtates for fighting in defence of their King. The ſchiſmatics, who cut off the father's head, forced the ſon to fly for his life, and overturned the whole ancient frame of government, religious and civil; obtained grants of thoſe very eſtates which the *Catholics* loſt in defence of the ancient conſtitution, many of which eſtates are at this day poſſeſſed by the poſterity of thoſe ſchiſmatics: and thus they gained by their *rebellion*, what the *Catholics* loſt by their *loyalty*.

We allow the *Catholics* to be *brethren* of the Diſſenters; ſome people indeed (which we cannot allow) would have *them* to be our children, becauſe *we* both diſſent from the church eſtabliſhed, and both agree in abolishing this perſecuting ſacramental teſt; by which *negative diſcouragement* we are both rendered incapable of civil and military employments. However, we cannot but wonder at the bold familiarity of theſe ſchiſmatics in calling the members of the national church their *brethren* and *fellow Proteſtants*. It is true, that all theſe ſects (except the *Catholics*) are *brethren* to each other in faction, ignorance, iniquity, perverſeneſs, pride, and (if we except the *Quakers*) in rebellion. But how the churchmen can be ſtyled their *fellow Proteſtants*, we cannot comprehend: becauſe when the whole Babel of ſectaries joined againſt the church the King, and the nobility for twenty years in a MATCH AT FOOT-BALL, where the proverb expreſsly tells us that *all are* FELLOWS; while the three kingdoms were toſſed to and fro, the churches, and cities, and royal palace ſhattered to pieces by their *balls*, their *buffets*, and their *kicks*; the victors would allow no more FELLOWS AT FOOT-BALL; but murdered, ſequeſtered, plundered, deprived, baniſhed to the plantations, or inſlaved all their oppoſers who had *loſt the game*.

It is ſaid the world is governed by *opinion*; and politicians aſſure us, that all power is founded thereupon. Wherefore, as all human creatures are fond to diſtraction of their own opinions, and ſo much the more, as the

opi-

are abſurd, ridiculous, or of little moment; it ow, that they are equally fond of power. But ns are maintained with ſo much obſtinacy as thoſe , eſpecially by ſuch zealots, who never bore the rd to religion, conſcience, honour, juſtice, truth, common morality farther than in outward ap- under the maſk of hypocriſy to promote their deſigns. And therefore Biſhop Burnet, one of les, tells us honeſtly, that the *ſaints* of thoſe fa- s pronounced themſelves above morality; which oned among *beggarly elements*; but the meaning two laſt words thus applied we confeſs to be a- underſtanding.

thoſe kingdoms and ſtates which firſt embraced nation, England appears to have received it in the lar way; where it was introduced in a peaceable by the ſupreme power of a King * and the three parliament; to which, as the higheſt legiſlative all ſubjects are bound paſſively to ſubmit. Neither much blood ſhed on ſo great a change of reli- t a conſiderable number of Lords, and other per- uality through the kingdom, ſtill continued in faith, and were, notwithſtanding their difference , employed in offices civil as well as military, ſs in every reign, until the teſt-act in the time of les II. However, from the time of the reforma- number of *Catholics* gradually and conſiderably So that in the reign of King Charles I. Eng- ne in a great degree a Proteſtant kingdom, with- g the ſectaries into the number; the legality with reſpect to human laws, the *Catholics* never but the *Puritans*, and other ſchiſmatics, with- aſt pretence to any ſuch authority, by an open leſtroyed that legal reformation, as we obſerved ordered their King, and changed the monarchy ublic. It is therefore not to be wondered at, if *lics*, in ſuch a Babel of religions, choſe to adhere wn faith left them by their anceſtors, rather

* Henry VIII.

than ſeek for a better among a rabble of hypocritical, re bellious, deluding knaves or deluded enthuſiaſts.

We repeat once more, that if a national religion b changed by the ſupreme legiſlative power, we cannot di pute the human legality of ſuch a change. But we hum bly conceive, that if any conſiderable party of men whi differs from an eſtabliſhment, either old or new, can d ſerve liberty of conſcience, it ought to conſiſt of tho who for want of conviction, or of right underſtanding t merits of each cauſe, conceive themſelves bound in co ſcience to adhere to the religion of their anceſtors; b cauſe they are of all others leaſt likely to be authors innovations either in church or ſtate.

On the other ſide, if the reformation of religion founded upon rebellion againſt the King, without wh conſent, by the nature of our conſtitution, no law can pa if this reformation be introduced by only one of the thr eſtates, I mean the commons, and not by one half ev of thoſe commons, and this by the aſſiſtance of a reb lious army; again, if this reformation were carried on the excluſion of nobles both lay and ſpiritual, (who co ſtitute the other part of the three eſtates), by the murd of their King, and by aboliſhing the whole ſyſtem of g vernment; the *Catholics* cannot ſee why the ſucceſſors thoſe ſchiſmatics, who are univerſally accuſed by all pa ties except themſelves, and a few infamous abettors, if ſtill retaining the ſame principles in religion and gover ment, under which their predeceſſors acted, ſhould pr tend to a better ſhare of civil or military truſt, profit, a power, than the *Catholics*, who during all that period twenty years were continually perſecuted with the utm ſeverity, merely on account of their loyalty and conſta adherence to kingly power.

We now come to thoſe arguments for repealing the ſ cramental teſt, which equally affect the *Catholics*, a their brethren the Diſſenters.

Firſt, we agree with our fellow-diſſenters, that * *pe ſecution merely for conſcience-ſake is againſt the geni of the goſpel.* And ſo likewiſe is *any law for depriv*

* *Vid.* Reaſons for the repeal of the ſacramental teſt.

m

men of their natural and civil rights, which they claim as men. We are alſo ready enough to allow, that *the ſmalleſt negative diſcouragements for uniformity's ſake are ſo many perſecutions.* Becauſe it cannot be denied, that the ſcratch of a pin is in ſome degree a real wound, as much as a ſtab through the heart. In like manner, an incapacity by law for any man to be made a judge, a colonel, or juſtice of the peace, *merely on a point of conſcience, is a negative diſcouragement*, and, conſequently, a real perſecution: for in this caſe, the author of the pamphlet quoted in the * margin puts a very pertinent and powerful queſtion: *If God be the ſole Lord of the conſcience, why ſhould the rights of conſcience be ſubject to human juriſdiction?* Now to apply this to the *Catholics*; the belief of tranſubſtantiation *is a matter purely of religion and conſcience, which doth not affect the political intereſt of ſociety, as ſuch: therefore, why ſhould the rights of conſcience, whereof* God *is the ſole* Lord, *be ſubject to human juriſdiction?* And why ſhould God be deprived of this right over a *Catholic*'s conſcience, any more than over that of any other Diſſenter?

And whereas another author among our brethren the Diſſenters hath very juſtly complained, that by this perſecuting teſt-act great numbers of *true Proteſtants* have been forced to leave the kingdom and fly to the plantations, rather than ſtay here *branded* with an incapacity for civil and military employments; we do aſſirm, that the *Catholics* can bring many more inſtances of the ſame kind; ſome thouſands of their religion having been forced by the ſacramental teſt to retire into other countries, rather than live here under the incapacity of wearing ſwords, ſitting in parliament, and getting that ſhare of power and profit which belong to them as *fellow Chriſtians*, whereof they are deprived *merely upon account of conſcience, which would not allow them to take the ſacrament after the manner preſcribed in the liturgy.* Hence it clearly follows in the words of the ſame author †, That *if we* Catholics *are incapable of employments, we are puniſhed*

* *Vid.* Reaſons for the repeal of the ſacramental teſt.

† See Reaſons againſt the teſt.

for our diſſent, that is, for our conſcience, which wholl turns upon political conſiderations.

The *Catholics* are willing to acknowledge the King's ſu premacy, whenever their brethren the Diſſenters ſha pleaſe to ſhew them an example.

Further, the *Catholics*, whenever their religion ſha come to be the national eſtabliſhed faith, are willing to u dergo the ſame *teſt* offered by the author already quote His words are theſe: *To end this debate, by putting it u on a foot which I hope will appear to every impartial pe ſon a fair and equitable one: we* Catholics *propoſe, wi ſubmiſſion to the proper judges, that effectual ſecurity taken againſt perſecution by obliging all who are admitt into places of power and truſt, whatever their religio profeſſion be, in the moſt ſolemn manner to diſclaim per cuting principles.* It is hoped the public will take noti of theſe words; *whatever their religious profeſſion b* which plainly include the *Catholics*; and for which we r turn thanks to *our diſſenting brethren.*

And whereas it is objected by thoſe of the eſtabliſh church, that if the ſchiſmatics and fanatics were once p into a capacity of poſſeſſing civil and military employment they would never be at eaſe, till they had raiſed their ow way of worſhip into the national religion through all h Majeſty's dominions, equal with the *true orthodox Scotti kirk;* which when they had once brought to paſs, would no more allow liberty of conſcience to Epiſcop diſſenters, then they did in the time of the great Engli rebellion, and in the ſucceeding fanatic anarchy, till th King was reſtored. There is another very learned ſchi matical pamphleteer *, who, in anſwer to a malignant l bel called, *The Presbyterians plea of merit, &c.* clear wipes off this aſperſion, by aſſuring all Epiſcopal Proteſtant of the preſent church upon his own word, and to his ow knowledge, that our brethren the Diſſenters will never o fer at ſuch an attempt. In like manner the *Catholics*, whe legally required, will openly declare *upon their words an honours*, that as ſoon as their *negative diſcouragements* an their *perſecution* ſhall be removed by repealing the ſacra

* Vindication of the Proteſtant Diſſenters.

ments

mental teſt, they will leave it entirely to the merits of the cauſe, whether the kingdom ſhall think fit to make their faith the eſtabliſhed religion or not.

And again, whereas our Presbyterian brethren in many of their pamphlets take much offence, that the great rebellion in England, the murder of the King, with the entire change of religion and government, are perpetually objected againſt them both in and out of ſeaſon by our common enemy the preſent Conformiſts; we do declare in the defence of our ſaid brethren, that the reproach aforeſaid is *an old worn out threadbare cant*, which they always diſdained to anſwer: and I very well remember, that having once told a certain Conformiſt, how much I wondered to hear him and his tribe dwelling perpetually on ſo beaten a ſubject; he was pleaſed to divert the diſcourſe with a fooliſh ſtory, which I cannot forbear telling to his diſgrace. He ſaid, there was a clergyman in Yorkſhire, who for fifteen years together preached every Sunday againſt drunkenneſs: whereat the pariſhioners being much offended, complained to the Archbiſhop; who having ſent for the clergyman, and ſeverely reprimanded him, the miniſter had no better an anſwer, than by confeſſing the fact; adding, that all the pariſh were drunkards; that he deſired to reclaim them from one vice, before he would begin upon another; and ſince they ſtill continued to be as great drunkards as before, he reſolved to go on, except his Grace would pleaſe to forbid him.

We are very ſenſible how heavy an accuſation lieth upon the *Catholics* of Ireland; that ſome years before King Charles II. was reſtored, when theirs and the King's forces were entirely reduced, and the kingdom declared by the *Rump* to be ſettled; after all his Majeſty's generals were forced to fly to France, or other countries, the heads of the ſaid *Catholics* who remained here in an inſlaved condition, joined to ſend an invitation to the Duke of Lorrain; engaging, upon his appearing here with his forces, to deliver up the whole iſland to his power, and declare him their ſovereign; which after the reſtoration was proved againſt them by Dean Boyle, ſince Primate, who produced the very original inſtrument at the board. The *Catholics* freely acknowledge the fact to be true; and at the ſame

time appeal to all the world, whether a wiſer, a bett
a more honourable, or a more juſtifiable project could h
been thought of They were then reduced to ſlavery
beggary by the Engliſh rebels, many thouſands of th
murdered, the reſt deprived of their eſtates, and drive
live on a ſmall pittance in the wilds of Connaught ; a
time when either the *Rump* or Cromwell abſolutely gov
ed the three kingdoms. And the queſtion will turn u
this, whether the *Catholics*, deprived of all their
ſeſſions, governed with a rod of iron, and in utter de
of ever ſeeing the monarchy reſtored, for the preſerva
of which they had ſuffered ſo much, were to be bla
for calling in a foreign prince of their own religion,
had a conſiderable army to ſupport them, rather than
mit to ſo infamous an uſurper as Cromwell, or ſuc
bloody and ignominious conventicle as the *Rump?* A
have often heard not only our friends the Diſſenters,
even our common enemy the Conformiſts, who are con
ſant in the hiſtory of thoſe times, freely confeſs, that,
ſidering the miſerable ſituation the Iriſh were then in,
could not have thought of a braver or more virtuous
tempt; by which they might have been inſtruments of
ſtoring the lawful monarch, at leaſt to the recovery of E
land and Scotland, from thoſe betrayers, and ſellers,
murderers of his royal father.

To conclude, whereas the laſt-quoted author comp
very heavily and frequently of a BRAND that lies u
them, it is a great miſtake: for the firſt original BRA
hath been long taken off; only we confeſs the ſcar
probably remain, and be viſible for ever to thoſe who k
the principles by which they acted, and until thoſe princi
ſhall be openly renounced; elſe it muſt continue to all
nerations, like the mark ſet upon Cain, which ſome
thors ſay deſcended to all his poſterity; or like the Ro
noſe and Auſtrian lip, or like the long bag of fleſh h
ing down from the gills of the people in Piedmont.
as for any *brands* fixed on ſchiſmatics for ſeveral years
they have been all made with *cold iron*; like thieves
by the BENEFIT OF THE CLERGY are condemned t
only burned in the hand; but eſcape the pain and the n
by being in *fee* with the JAILOR. Which advantage

ſchiſma

matical teachers will never want, who, as we are afl, and of which there is a *very freſh inſtance*, have ouls, and bodies, and purſes of their people a hundred s more at their mercy, than the *Catholic* prieſts could pretend to.

herefore, upon the whole, the *Catholics* do humbly ion *(without the leaſt inſinuation of threatening)*, that this *favourable* juncture their incapacity for civil and ary employments may be wholly taken off, for the ſame reaſons (beſides others more cogent) that are offered by their *brethren* the *Diſſenters*.

your petitioners, as in duty bound, ſhall ever pray, &c.

blin, Nov. 1733.

his controverſy the author was again victorious, for the teſt s repealed. *Hawkeſ*.

Some

Some REASONS againſt the BILL for ſettling the tithe of *Hemp, Flax, &c.* by a *modus* *.

THE clergy did little expect to have any cauſe o complaint againſt the preſent houſe of Commons who in the laſt ſeſſions were pleaſed to throw out a bill ſent them from the Lords, which that Reverend body a prehended would be very injurious to them, if it paſ into a law; and who in the preſent ſeſſions defeated t arts and endeavours of *ſchiſmatics* to repeal the *ſacra mental teſt*.

For although it hath been allowed on all hands, th the former of thoſe bills might by its neceſſary conſeque ces be very diſpleaſing to the lay gentlemen of the kin dom for many reaſons purely ſecular; and that this l attempt for repealing the *teſt* did much more affect at p ſent the temporal intereſt, than the ſpiritual; yet t whole body of the lower clergy have, upon both th occaſions, expreſſed equal gratitude to that honourab houſe for their juſtice and ſteadineſs, as if the clergy alo were to receive the benefit.

It muſt needs be therefore a great addition to the cl gy's grief, that ſuch an aſſembly as the preſent houſe Commons ſhould now, with an expedition more th uſual, agree to a bill for encouraging the linen manufact with a clauſe, whereby the church is to loſe two part three of the legal tithe in flax and hemp.

* Many eminent clergymen who oppoſed this ſcheme applie Dr Swift to write againſt it, which he readily conſented to u their giving him ſome hints; and two days after, the follow reaſons were preſented to ſeveral members of parliament, wh had ſo good an effect that the bill was dropped, *Hawkeſ.*

This pamphlet is entirely adapted to the clergy of Ireland. I cannot avoid obſerving in it, a greater fund of calmneſs, n leſs degree of ſpirit, than in many other of Swift's political tings. *Orrery.*

† For the biſhops to divide livings. *Hawkeſ.*

Some reaſons why the clergy think ſuch a law will be a
eat hardſhip upon them are, I conceive, thoſe that fol-
w. I ſhall venture to enumerate them with all deference
e to that honourable aſſembly.

Firſt, the clergy ſuppoſe that they have not, by any
lt or demerit, incurred the diſpleaſure of the nation's
preſentatives: neither can the declared loyalty of the
ſent ſet, from the higheſt prelate to the loweſt vicar,
in the leaſt diſputed: becauſe there are hardly ten cler-
men through the whole kingdom, for more than nine
a years paſt, who have not been either preferred en-
ly upon account of their declared affection to the
nover line, or higher promoted as the due reward of
: ſame merit.

There is not a landlord in the whole kingdom reſiding
ne part of the year at his country-ſeat, who is not in
: own conſcience fully convinced that the tithes of his
ſſer have gradually ſunk for ſome years paſt one third,
at leaſt one fourth of their former value, excluſive of
non-ſolvencies.

The payment of tithes in this kingdom is ſubject to ſo
ny frauds, brangles, and other difficulties, not only
m *Papiſts* and *Diſſenters*, but even from thoſe who pro-
s themſelves *Proteſtants*, that by the expenſe, the
uble, and vexation of collecting or bargaining for them,
y are of all other rents the moſt precarious, uncertain,
d ill paid.

The landlords in moſt pariſhes expect, as a compli-
nt, that they ſhould pay little more than half the value
the tithes for the lands they hold in their own hands;
ich often conſiſt of large domains: and it is the mini-
r's intereſt to make them eaſy upon that article, when
: conſiders what influence thoſe gentlemen have upon
eir tenants.

The clergy cannot but think it extremely ſevere, that
a bill for encouraging the linen manufacture they alone
uſt be the ſufferers, who can leaſt afford it. If, as I
n told, there be a tax of three thouſand pounds a-year
id by the public for a farther encouragement to the ſaid
anufacture, are not the clergy equal ſharers in the
arge with the reſt of their fellow-ſubjects? what ſatiſ-

factory

factory reaſon can be therefore given, why they alo
ſhould bear the whole additional weight, unleſs it will
alledged that their property is not upon an equal fo
with the properties of other men. They acquire th
own ſmall pittance by at leaſt as honeſt means as the
neighbours the landlords poſſeſs their eſtates; and ha
been always ſuppoſed, except in rebellious or fanatic
times, to have as good a title: for no families now in be
ing can ſhew a more ancient. Indeed, if it be true, th
ſome perſons (I hope they were not many) were ſeen
laugh when the rights of the clergy were mentioned;
this caſe an opinion may poſſibly be ſoon advanced, th
they have no rights at all. And this is likely enough
gain ground, in proportion as the contempt of all rel
gion ſhall increaſe, which is already in a very forwar
way.

It is ſaid, there will be alſo added in this bill a clau
for diminiſhing the tithe of hops, in order to cultiva
that uſeful plant among us: and here likewiſe the load
to lie entirely on the ſhoulders of the clergy, while th
landlords reap all the benefit. It will not be eaſy to for
ſee where ſuch proceedings are like to ſtop: or wheth
by the ſame authority, in civil times, a parliament ma
not as juſtly challenge the ſame power in reducing
things titheable, not below the tenth part of the produ
(which is and ever will be the clergy's equitable righ
but from a tenth part to a ſixtieth or eightieth, and fro
thence to nothing.

I have heard it granted by ſkilful perſons, that th
practice of taxing the clergy by parliament without the
own conſent is a new thing, not much above the date
ſeventy years: before which period, in times of peac
they always taxed themſelves. But things are extreme
altered at preſent: it is not now ſufficient to tax them
common with their fellow-ſubjects, without impoſing
additional tax upon them, from which, or from any thi
equivalent, all their fellow-ſubjects are exempt; and th
in a country profeſſing *Chriſtianity*.

The greateſt part of the clergy throughout this kingdo
have been ſtripped of their glebes by the confuſion
times, by violence, fraud, oppreſſion, and other unla
fi

al means; all which glebes are now in the hands of the ıity. So that they now are generally forced to lie at the ıercy of landlords for a ſmall piece of ground in their ariſhes, at a moſt exhorbitant rent, and uſually for a ıort term of years, whereon to build a houſe, and enable hem to reſide. Yet, in ſpite of theſe diſadvantages, I m a witneſs, that they are generally more conſtant reſi-ents than their brethren in England; where the meaneſt icar hath a convenient dwelling with a barn, a garden, and field or two for his cattle; beſides the certainty of his ittle income from honeſt farmers, able and willing not ıly to pay him his dues, but likewiſe to make him pre-ents according to their ability for his better ſupport. In ll which circumſtances the clergy of Ireland meet with a reatment directly contrary.

It it hoped the Honourable houſe will conſider, that it ı impoſſible for the moſt ill-minded, avaricious, or cun-ıing clergyman to do the leaſt injuſtice to the meaneſt cot-ager in his pariſh, in any bargain for tithes, or other ec-leſiaſtical dues. He can at the utmoſt only demand to ıave his tithe fairly laid out; and does not once in a hun-lred times obtain his demand. But every tenant, from he pooreſt cottager to the moſt ſubſtantial farmer, can and enerally doth impoſe upon the miniſter, by fraud, by heft, by lies, by perjuries, by inſolence, and ſometimes by force; notwithſtanding the utmoſt vigilance and ſkill of himſelf and his proctor. Inſomuch that it is allowed hat the clergy in general receive little more than one half of their legal dues; not including the charges they are at in collecting or bargaining for them.

The land-rents of Ireland are computed to about two millions, whereof one tenth amounts to two hundred thouſand pounds. The beneficed clergymen, excluding thoſe of this city, are not reckoned to be above five hun-dred; by which computation they ſhould each of them poſſeſs two hundred pounds a-year, if thoſe tithes were equally divided, although in well-cultivated corn-countries it ought to be more; whereas they hardly receive one half of that ſum, with great defalcations, and in very *bad payments.* There are indeed a few glebes in the *orth pretty conſiderable*; but if theſe and all the reſt were

were in like manner equally divided, they would not five pounds a-year to every clergyman. Therefore, ther the condition of the clergy in general among t juſtly liable to envy, or able to bear a heavy burden, w neither the nobility nor gentry, nor tradeſmen, nor l ers, will touch with one of their fingers; this, I ſa ſubmitted to the Honourable houſe.

One terrible circumſtance in this bill is, that of tu the tithe of *flax* and *hemp* into what the lawyers c *modus*, or a certain ſum in lieu of a tenth part of the duct. And by this practice of claiming a *modus* in t pariſhes by ancient cuſtom, the clergy in both king have been almoſt incredible ſufferers. Thus in the ſent caſe, the tithe of a tolerable acre of *flax*, whic a medium is worth twelve ſhillings, is by the preſen reduced to four ſhillings. Neither is this the worſt pa a *modus*; every determinate ſum muſt in proceſs of ſink from a fourth to a four and twentieth part, or a g deal lower, by that neceſſary fall attending the val money, which is now at leaſt nine tenths lower all Europe than it was four hundred years ago, by a gra decline; and even a third part at leaſt within our memories in purchaſing almoſt every thing required for neceſſities or conveniencies of life; as any gentleman atteſt, who hath kept houſe for twenty years paſt. this will equally affect poor countries as well as rich. although I look upon it as an impoſſibility that this k dom ſhould ever thrive under its preſent diſadvanta which without a miracle muſt ſtill increaſe; yet when whole caſh of the nation ſhall ſink to fifty thouſand pou we muſt in all our traffic abroad either of import or ex go by the general rate, at which money is valued in th countries that enjoy the common privileges of humank For this reaſon no corporation (if the clergy may preſu to call themſelves one) ſhould by any means grant a their properties in perpetuity upon any conſideration wh ſoever; which is a rock that many corporations have b upon to their great impoveriſhment, and ſometimes to th utter undoing; becauſe they are ſuppoſed to ſubſiſt ever, and becauſe no determination of money is of certain perpetual intrinſic value. This is known e

l, where eſtates let for ever, ſome hundred years veral ancient noble families, do not at this preſent poſterity a twentieth part of what they are now in eaſy rent.

ffecting one part of a nation, which already bears e in all parliamentary impoſitions, cannot poſſibly cept it be inflicted as a puniſhment upon that bo-, which is taxed, for ſome great demerit or dan- public apprehended from thoſe upon whom it is the *Papiſts* and *Nonjurors* have been doubly refuſing to give proper ſecurities to the govern- ich cannot be objected againſt the clergy. And if this bill ſhould paſs, I think it ought to be face, ſhewing wherein they have offended, and liſaffection or other crime they are puniſhed.

ditional exciſe upon ale, or a duty upon fleſh and e to be enacted, neither the victualler, butcher, ould bear any more of the charge than for what conſumed, but it would be an equal general tax e whole kingdom: whereas by this bill the cler- re avowedly condemned to be deprived of their herent, undiſputed rights, in order to encourage ure by which all the reſt of the kingdom are ſup- e gainers.

ll is directly againſt *magna charta*, whereof the is for confirming the inviolable rights of holy s well as contrary to the oath taken by all our eir coronation, where they ſwear to defend and church in all rights.

aid upon employments is a very different thing. ffors of civil and military employments are no ı; neither are they any part of our conſtitution; es, pay, and perquiſites are all changeable at the the prince who beſtows them, although the ar- l from funds raiſed and appropriated by the le- But the clergy, as they have little reaſon to they deſire no more than their ancient legal y indeed with the removal of many grievous im- in the collection of them; which it is to be y muſt wait for until more favourable times. It own that they have already, of their own accord,

ſhewn great indulgence to their people upon this very article of *flax*, ſeldom taking above a fourth part of their tithe for ſmall parcels, and oftentimes nothing at all from new beginners; waiting with patience until the farmers were able, and until great quantities of land were employed in that part of huſbandry; never ſuſpecting that their good intentions ſhould be perverted in ſo ſingular a manner to their detriment by that very aſſembly, which, during the time that convocations (which are an original part of our conſtitution, ever ſince *Chriſtianity* became national among us) are thought fit to be ſuſpended, God knows for what reaſon, or from what provocations; I ſay from that very aſſembly, who during the intervals of convocations ſhould rather be ſuppoſed to be guardians of the rights and properties of the clergy, than to make the leaſt attempt upon either.

I have not heard upon inquiry, that any of thoſe gentlemen who among us without doors are called the court-party, diſcover the leaſt zeal in this affair. If they had thoughts to interpoſe, it might be conceived they would ſhew their diſpleaſure againſt this bill, which muſt very much leſſen the value of the King's patronage upon promotion to vacant ſees, in the diſpoſal of deaneries, and other conſiderable preferments in the church, which are in the donation of the crown; whereby the viceroys will have fewer good preferments to beſtow on their dependents, as well as upon the kindred of members, who may have a ſufficient ſtock of that ſort of merit, whatever it may be, which may in future times moſt prevail.

The *Diſſenters*, by not ſucceeding in their endeavours to procure a repeal of the *teſt*, have loſt nothing, but continue in a full enjoyment of their toleration; while the clergy, without giving the leaſt offence, are by this bill deprived of a conſiderable branch of their ancient legal rights, whereby the ſchiſmatical party will have the pleaſure of gratifying their revenge —— *hoc Graii voluere.*

The farmer will find no relief by this *modus*, becauſe when his preſent leaſe ſhall expire, his landlord will infallibly raiſe the rent in an equal proportion upon every part of land where flax is ſown, and have ſo much a better ſecurity for payment at the expenſe of the clergy.

If

If we judge by things paſt, it little avails that this bill is to be limited to a certain time of ten, twenty, or thirty years. For no landlord will ever conſent that a law ſhall expire, by which he finds himſelf a gainer; and of this there are many examples as well in England as in this kingdom.

The great end of this bill is by proper encouragement to extend the linen manufacture into thoſe countries where it hath hitherto been little cultivated: but this encouragement of *leſſening the tithe of flax and hemp* is one of ſuch a kind as, it is to be feared, will have a directly contrary effect. Becauſe, if I am rightly informed, no ſet of men hath, for their number and fortunes, been more induſtrious and ſucceſsful than the clergy, in introducing that manufacture into places which were unacquainted with it, by perſuading their people to ſow *flax* and *hemp*, by procuring ſeed for them, and by having them inſtructed in the management thereof; and this they did not without reaſonable hopes of increaſing the value of their pariſhes after ſome time, as well as of promoting the benefit of the public. But if this *modus* ſhould take place, the clergy will be ſo far from gaining, that they will become loſers by their extraordinary care, by having their beſt arable lands turned to *flax* and *hemp*, which are reckoned great impoveriſhers of land: they cannot therefore be blamed, if they ſhould ſhew as much zeal to prevent its being introduced or improved in their pariſhes as they hitherto have ſhewed in the introducing and improving it. This, I am told, ſome of them have already declared, at leaſt ſo far as to reſolve not to give themſelves any more trouble than other men about promoting a manufacture, by the ſucceſs of which they only of all men are to be ſufferers. Perhaps the giving even a further encouragement than the law doth, as it now ſtands, to a ſet of men who might on many accounts be ſo uſeful to this purpoſe, would be no bad method of having the great end of the bill more effectually anſwered: but this is what they are far from deſiring; all they petition for is no more than to continue on the ſame footing with the reſt of their fellow-ſubjects.

If this *modus* of paying by the acre be to paſs into a

law, it were to be wiſhed, that the ſame law would
only appoint one or more ſworn ſurveyors in each pa
to meaſure the lands on which *flax* and *hemp* are ſo
but alſo ſettle the price of ſurveying, and determine w
ther the incumbent or farmer is to pay for each ann
ſurvey. Without ſomething of this kind there muſt c
ſtantly be diſputes between them, and the neighbour
juſtices of peace muſt be teized as often as thoſe diſpu
happen.

I had written thus far, when a paper was ſent to
with ſeveral reaſons againſt the bill, ſome whereof,
though they have been already touched, are put in a b
ter light, and the reſt did not occur to me. I ſhall d
ver them in the author's own words.

I. That tithes are the patrimony of the church; a
if not of divine original, yet at leaſt of great antiquity

II. That all purchaſes and leaſes of titheable lands,
many centuries paſt, have been made and taken, ſubject
the demand of tithes, and thoſe lands ſold and taken
ſo much the cheaper on that account.

III. That if any lands are exempted from tithes, or
legal demands of ſuch tithes leſſened by act of par
ment, ſo much value is taken from the proprietor of
tithes, and veſted in the proprietor of the lands, or
head tenants.

IV. That no innocent unoffending perſon can be ſo
priv̄ed of his property without the greateſt violation
common juſtice.

V. That to do this upon a proſpect of encouraging
linen or any other manufacture, is acting upon a very n
taken and unjuſt ſuppoſition; inaſmuch as the price
the lands ſo occupied will be no way leſſened to the fa
er by ſuch a law.

VI. That the clergy are content chearfully to bear
they now do) any burthen in common with their fellc
ſubjects, either for the ſupport of his Majeſty's gove
ment, or the encouragement of the trade of the natic
but think it very hard that they ſhould be ſingled out
pay heavier taxes than others at a time, when, by the c
creaſe of the value of their pariſhes, they are leſs able
bear them.

VII. Th

VII. That the legiſlature hath heretofore diſtinguiſhed the clergy by exemptions, and not by additional loads; and the preſent clergy of the kingdom hope they have not deſerved worſe of the legiſlature than their predeceſſors.

VIII. That, by the original conſtitution of theſe kingdoms, the clergy had the ſole right of taxing themſelves, and were in poſſeſſion of that right as low as the reſtoration; and if that right be now devolved upon the Commons by the ceſſion of the clergy, the Commons can be conſidered in this caſe in no other light than as the guardians of the clergy.

IX. That beſides thoſe tithes always in the poſſeſſion of the clergy, there are ſome portions of tithes lately come into their poſſeſſion by purchaſe; that if this clauſe ſhould take place, they would not be allowed the benefit of theſe purchaſers upon an equal foot of advantage with the reſt of their fellow-ſubjects. And that ſome tithes in the hands of impropriators are under ſettlements and mortgages.

X. That the gentlemen of this houſe ſhould conſider, that loading the clergy is loading their own younger brothers and children, with this additional grievance, that it is taking from the younger and poorer to give to the elder and richer; and,

Laſtly, That if it were at any time juſt and proper to do this, it would however be too ſevere to do it now, when all the tithes of the kingdom are known for ſome years paſt to have ſunk above one third part in their value.

Any income in the hands of the clergy is at leaſt as uſeful to the public as the ſame income in the hands of the laity.

It were more reaſonable to grant the clergy in three parts of the nation an additional ſupport than to diminiſh their preſent ſubſiſtence.

Great employments are and will be in the hands of Engliſhmen; nothing left for the younger ſons of Iriſhmen but vicarages, tide-waiters places, *&c.* therefore no reaſon to make them worſe.

The *modus* upon the *flax* in England affects only lands reclaimed.

reclaimed ſince the year 1690, and is at the rate of five ſhillings the Engliſh acre, which is equivalent to eight ſhillings and eight pence Iriſh, and that to be paid before the farmer removed it from the field. Flax is a manufacture of little conſequence in England, but is the ſtaple in Ireland, and if it increaſes, (as it probably will), muſt in many places joſtle out corn, becauſe it is more gainful.

The clergy of the eſtabliſhed church have no intereſt, like thoſe of the church of Rome, diſtinct from the true intereſt of their country, and therefore ought to ſuffer under no diſtinct impoſitions or taxes of any kind.

The bill for ſettling the *modus* of *flax* in England was brought in the firſt year of the reign of King George I. when the clergy lay very unjuſtly under the imputation of ſome diſaffection; and to encourage the bringing in of ſome fens in Lincolnſhire which were not to be continued under *flax*; but it left all lands where *flax* had been ſown before that time under the ſame condition of tithing, in which they were before the paſſing of that bill: whereas this bill takes away what the clergy are actually poſſeſſed of.

That the woollen manufacture is the ſtaple of England, as the linen is that of Ireland, yet no attempt was ever made in England to reduce the tithe of wool for the encouragement of that manufacture. This manufacture has already been remarkably favoured by the clergy, who have hitherto been generally content with leſs than half, ſome with ſix pence a-garden, and ſome have taken nothing.

Employments, they ſay, have been taxed; the reaſons for which taxation will not hold with regard to property, at leaſt till employments become inheritances. The Commons always have had ſo tender a regard to property, that they never would ſuffer any law to paſs, whereby any particular perſons might be aggrieved without their own conſent.

N. B. *Some alterations have been made in the bill about the* modus, *ſince the above paper was written; but they are of little moment.*

modeſt PROPOSAL for preventing the CHILDREN of POOR PEOPLE in IRELAND from being a burden to their parents or country, and for making them beneficial to the public.

I is a melancholy object to thoſe who walk through this great town, or travel in the country, when they the *ſtreets*, the *roads*, and *cabin-doors* crouded with *gars* of the female ſex, followed by three, four, or children, *all in rags*, and importuning every paſſenger an alms. Theſe *mothers*, inſtead of being able to rk for their honeſt livelihood, are forced to employ all ir time in ſtrolling to beg ſuſtenance for their *helpleſs ants*, who, as they grow up, either turn *thieves* for ſt of work, or leave their *dear native country to fight the pretender in* Spain, or ſell themſelves to Barbes.

I think it is agreed by all parties, that this prodigious ber of children in the arms, or on the backs, or at heels of their *mothers*, and frequently of their *fathers*, *in the preſent deplorable ſtate of the kingdom*, a very at additional grievance; and therefore, whoever could out a fair, cheap, and eaſy method of making theſe dren ſound and uſeful members of the commonwealth, ld deſerve ſo well of the public, as to have his ſtatue up for a preſerver of the nation.

But my intention is very far from being confined to proe only for the children of *profeſſed beggars*; it is of a ch greater extent, and ſhall take in the whole number infants at a certain age, who are born of parents in eſt as little able to ſupport them, as thoſe who demand charity in the ſtreets.

As to my own part, having turned my thoughts for my years upon this important ſubject, and maturely ighed the ſeveral *ſchemes of our projectors*, I have alys found them groſsly miſtaken in their computation. It

is true, a child *juſt dropt from its dam* may be ſupported by her milk for a ſolar year, with little other nouriſhment: at moſt not above the value of two ſhillings, which the mother may certainly get, or the value in *ſcraps*, by her lawful occupation of begging; and it is exactly at one year old that I propoſe to provide for them in ſuch a manner, as inſtead of being a charge upon their *parents*, or the *pariſh*, or *wanting food and raiment* for the reſt of their lives, they ſhall, on the contrary, contribute to the feeding, and partly to the cloathing of many thouſands.

There is likewiſe another great advantage in my ſcheme, that it will prevent thoſe *voluntary abortions*, and that horrid practice of *women murdering their baſtard children*, alas! too frequent among us, ſacrificing the *poor innocent babes*, I doubt more to avoid the expenſe than the ſhame, which would move tears and pity in the moſt ſavage and inhuman breaſt.

The number of ſouls in this kingdom being uſually reckoned one million and a half, of theſe I calculate there may be about two hundred thouſand couple, whoſe wives are breeders; from which number I ſubtract thirty thouſand couple, who are able to maintain their own children, (although I apprehend there cannot be ſo many under *the preſent diſtreſſes of the kingdom*); but this being granted, there will remain an hundred and ſeventy thouſand breeders. I again ſubtract fifty thouſand for thoſe women who miſcarry, or whoſe children die by accident or diſeaſe within the year. There only remain an hundred and twenty thouſand children of poor parents annually born. The queſtion therefore is, How this number ſhall be reared and provided for? which, as I have already ſaid, under the preſent ſituation of affairs is utterly impoſſible by all the methods hitherto propoſed. For we can *neither employ them in handicraft* or *agriculture*; we neither build houſes, (I mean in the country), nor cultivate land: they can very ſeldom pick up a livelihood *by ſtealing*, till they arrive at ſix years old, except where they are of towardly parts; although I confeſs they learn the rudiments much earlier; during which time they can however be properly looked upon only as *probationers*; as I have been informed by a principal gentleman in the

county of Cavan, who proteſted to me, that he never knew above one or two inſtances under the age of ſix, even in a part of the kingdom *ſo renowned for the quickeſt proficiency in that art.*

I am aſſured by our merchants, that a boy or a girl before twelve years old is no ſaleable commodity; and even when they come to this age, they will not yield above three pounds, or three pounds and half a crown at moſt on the exchange, which cannot turn to account either to the parents or kingdom, the charge of nutriment and rags having been at leaſt four times that value.

I ſhall now therefore humbly propoſe my own thoughts, which I hope will not be liable to the leaſt objection.

I have been aſſured by a very knowing American of my acquaintance in London, that a young healthy child, well nurſed, is at a year old a moſt delicious, nouriſhing, and wholeſome food, whether *ſtewed, roaſted, baked,* or *boiled*; and I make no doubt that it will equally ſerve in a *fricaſſe*, or a *ragouſt.*

I do therefore humbly offer it to *public conſideration*, that of the hundred and twenty thouſand children already computed, twenty thouſand may be reſerved for breed, whereof only one fourth part to be males; which is more than we allow to *ſheep, black cattle,* or *ſwine;* and my reaſon is, that theſe children are ſeldom the fruits of marriage, *a circumſtance not much regarded by our ſavages*, therefore *one male* will be ſufficient to ſerve *four females.* That the remaining hundred thouſand may, at a year old, be offered in ſale to the perſons of *quality* and *fortune* through the kingdom; always adviſing the mother to let them ſuck plentifully in the laſt month, ſo as to render them plump, and fat for a good table. A child will make two diſhes at an entertainment for friends; and when the family dines alone, the fore or hind quarter will make a reaſonable diſh, and ſeaſoned with a little pepper or ſalt, will be very good boiled on the fourth day, eſpecially in *winter.*

I have reckoned, upon a medium, that a child juſt born will weigh 12 pounds, and in a ſolar year, if tolerably nurſed, will increaſe to 28 pounds.

I grant this food will be ſomewhat dear, and therefore very *proper for landlords*, who, as they have already de-

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voured moſt of the parents, ſeem to have the beſt title to the children.

Infants fleſh will be in ſeaſon throughout the year, but more plentiful in March, and a little before and after; for we are told by a grave author *, an eminent French phyſician, that *fiſh being a prolific diet*, there are more children born in Roman-*Catholic countries* about nine months after Lent, than at any other ſeaſon; therefore reckoning a year after Lent, the markets will be more glutted than uſual, becauſe the number of *Popiſh infants* is at leaſt three to one in this kingdom; and therefore it will have one other collateral advantage by leſſening the number of *Papiſts* among us.

I have already computed the charge of nurſing a beggar's child (in which liſt I reckon all *cottagers*, *labourers*, and four fifths of the *farmers*) to be about two ſhillings *per annum*, rags included; and I believe no gentleman would repine to give ten ſhillings for the *carcaſe of a good fat child*, which, as I have ſaid, will make four diſhes of excellent nutritive meat, when he hath only ſome particular friend or his own family to dine with him. Thus the ſquire will learn to be a good landlord, and grow popular among his tenants, the mother will have eight ſhillings neat profit, and be fit for work, till ſhe produces another child.

Thoſe who are more thrifty (*as I muſt confeſs the times require*) may flay the carcaſe; the ſkin of which, artificially dreſſed, will make admirable *gloves for ladies*, and *ſummer boots* for *fine gentlemen*.

As to our city of Dublin, ſhambles may be appointed for this purpoſe in the moſt convenient parts of it, and butchers we may be aſſured will not be wanting; although I rather recommend buying the children alive, and dreſſing them hot from the knife, as we do *roaſting pigs*.

A very worthy perſon, *a true lover of his country*, and whoſe virtues I highly eſteem, was lately pleaſed, in diſcourſing on this matter, to offer a refinement upon my ſcheme. He ſaid, that many gentlemen of this kingdom having of late deſtroyed their deer, he conceived that the

* Rabelais.

want

want of veniſon might be well ſuplied by the bodies of young lads and maidens, not exceeding fourteen years of age, nor under twelve; ſo great a number of both ſexes in every county being now ready to ſtarve for want of work and ſervice: and theſe to be diſpoſed of by their parents, if alive, or otherwiſe by their neareſt relations. But, with due deference to ſo excellent a friend, and ſo deſerving a patriot, I cannot be altogether in his ſentiments: for, as to the males, my American acquaintance aſſured me, from frequent experience, that their fleſh was generally tough and lean, like that of our ſchoolboys, by continual exerciſe, and their taſte diſagreeable, and to fatten them would not anſwer the charge. Then, as to the females, it would, I think, with humble ſubmiſſion, *be a loſs to the public*, becauſe they ſoon would become breeders themſelves: and beſides, it is not improbable, that ſome ſcrupulous people might be apt to cenſure ſuch practice, (although indeed very unjuſtly), as a little bordering upon cruelty; which, I confeſs, hath always been with me the ſtrongeſt objection againſt any project, how well ſoever intended.

But in order to juſtify my friend, he confeſſed, that this expedient was put into his head by the famous Salmanaazor, a native of the iſland Formoſa, who came from thence to London above twenty years ago, and, in converſation, told my friend, that in his country, when any young perſon happened to be put to death, the executioner ſold the carcaſes to *perſons of quality* as a prime dainty; and that in his time the body of a plump girl of fifteen, who was crucified for an attempt to poiſon the Emperor, was ſold to his Imperial *Majeſty's prime miniſter of ſtate*, and other great *mandarins* of the court, *in joints from the gibbet*, at four hundred crowns. Neither indeed can I deny, that if the ſame uſe were made of ſeveral plump young girls in this town, who, without, one ſingle groat to their fortunes, cannot ſtir abroad without a chair, and appear at a *playhouſe* and *aſſemblies* in foreign fineries which they never will pay for, the kingdom would not be the worſe.

Some perſons of a deſponding ſpirit are in great concern about that vaſt number of poor people, who are aged, diſeaſed,

diſeaſed, or maimed; and I have been deſired to empl my thoughts, what courſe may be taken to eaſe the t tion of ſo grievous an incumbrance. But I am not in t leaſt pain upon that matter, becauſe it is very well knov that they are every day *dying*, and *rotting*, by *cold* a *famine*, and *filth* and *vermine*, as faſt as can be reaſona expected. And as to the young labourers, they are n in almoſt as hopeful a condition: they cannot get wo and conſequently pine away for want of nouriſhment, a degree, that if at any time they are accidentally hi to common labour, they have not ſtrength to perform i and thus the country and themſelves are happily delive from the evils to come.

I have too long digreſſed, and therefore ſhall return my ſubject. I think the advantages by the propc which I have made, are obvious and many, as well as the higheſt importance.

For, *firſt*, as I have already obſerved, it would gre ly leſſen *the number of Papiſts*, with whom we are yea over-run, being the principal breeders of the nation, well as our moſt dangerous enemies, and who ſtay at ho on purpoſe *to deliver the kingdom to the pretender*, l ping to take their advantage by the abſence of ſo *ſo m good Proteſtants*, who have choſen rather to leave th country, than ſtay at home and pay tithes againſt th conſcience to an *Epiſcopal curate*.

Secondly, The poorer tenants will have ſomething luable of their own, which by law may be made lia to a diſtreſs, and help to pay their landlord's rent; th corn and cattle being already ſeized, *and money a th unknown*.

Thirdly, Whereas the maintenance of an hundı thouſand children, from two years old and upwards, c not be computed at leſs than ten ſhillings apiece *per a num*, the nation's ſtock will be thereby increaſed fi thouſand pounds *per annum*, beſides the profit of a n diſh introduced to the tables of all *gentlemen of fortu* in the kingdom, who have any refinement in taſte. A the money will circulate among ourſelves, the goods bei entirely of our own growth and manufacture.

Fourthly, The conſtant breeders, beſides the gain

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eight ſhillings *Sterling per annum* by the ſale of their children, will be rid of the charge of maintaining them after the firſt year.

Fifthly, This food would likewiſe bring great *cuſtom to taverns*; where the vintners will certainly be ſo prudent as to procure the beſt receipts for dreſſing it to perfection, and conſequently have their houſes frequented by all the *fine gentlemen*, who juſtly value themſelves upon their knowledge in good eating; and a ſkilful cook, who underſtands how to oblige his gueſts, will contrive to make it as expenſive as they pleaſe.

Sixthly, This would be a great inducement to marriage, which all wiſe nations have either encouraged by rewards, or inforced by laws and penalties. It would increaſe the care and tenderneſs of mothers towards their children, when they were ſure of a ſettlement for life to the poor babes, provided in ſome ſort by the public, to their annual profit inſtead of expenſe. We ſhould ſoon ſee an honeſt emulation among the married women, *which of them could bring the fatteſt child to the market*. Men would become as *fond* of their wives during the time of their pregnancy, as they are now of their *mares* in foal, their *cows* in calf, or *ſows* when they are ready to farrow; nor offer to beat or kick them (as is too *frequent* a practice) for fear of a miſcarriage.

Many other advantages might be enumerated. For inſtance, the addition of ſome thouſand carcaſes in our exportation of barreled beef: the propagation of *ſwines fleſh*, and improvement in the art of making good *bacon*, ſo much wanted among us by the great deſtruction of *pigs*, too frequent at our tables; which are no way comparable, in taſte or magnificence, to a well-grown, fat, yearly child, which roaſted whole, will make a conſiderable figure at a *lord mayor's feaſt*, or any other public entertainment. But this, and many others, I omit, being ſtudious of brevity.

Suppoſing that one thouſand families in this city would be conſtant cuſtomers for infant's fleſh, beſides others who might have it at *merry meetings*, particularly at *weddings* and *chriſtenings*, I compute, that Dublin would take off annually about twenty thouſand carcaſes; and the reſt

of the kingdom (where probably they will be ſold ſomewhat cheaper) the remaining eighty thouſand.

I can think of no one objection, that will poſſibly be raiſed againſt this propoſal, unleſs it ſhould be urged, that the number of people will be thereby much leſſened in the kingdom. This I freely own, and it was indeed one principal deſign in offering it to the world. I deſire the reader will obſerve, that I calculate my remedy *for this one individual kingdom of* IRELAND, *and for no other that ever was, is, or, I think, ever can be upon earth.* Therefore let no man talk to me of other expedients: *of taxing our abſentees at five ſhillings a-pound: of uſing neither cloaths nor houſehold furniture, except what is of our own growth and manufacture: of utterly rejecting the materials and inſtruments that promote foreign luxury: of curing the expenſiveneſs of pride, vanity, idleneſs, and gaming in our women: of introducing a vein of parſimony, prudence, and temperance: of* learning to love *our country, in the want of which we differ even from* LAPLANDERS, *and the inhabitants of* TOPINAMBOO: *of quitting our animoſities and factions, nor acting any longer like the Jews, who were murdering one another at the very moment their city was taken: of being a little cautious not to ſell our country and conſciences for nothing: of teaching landlords to have at leaſt one degree of mercy towards their tenants:* laſtly, *of putting a ſpirit of honeſty, induſtry, and ſkill into our ſhopkeepers, who, if a reſolution could now be taken to buy only our native goods, would immediately unite to cheat and exact upon us in the price, the meaſure, and the goodneſs, nor could ever yet be brought to make one fair propoſal of juſt dealing, though often and earneſtly invited to it.*

Therefore I repeat, let no man talk to me of theſe and the like expedients *, till he hath at leaſt ſome glimpſe of hope, that there will ever be ſome hearty and ſincere attempt to put them in *practice.*

* Theſe expedients had been propoſed before, ſome of them by the Dean, and to urge the practice of them *by ſhewing the only alternative*, ſeems to have been the deſign of this paper. *Hawkeſ.*

But, as to myſelf, having been wearied out for many rs with offering vain, idle, viſionary thoughts, and at gth utterly deſpairing of ſucceſs, I fortunately fell upon propoſal; which, as it is wholly new, ſo it hath ſome- ng ſolid and real, of no expenſe and little trouble, full our own power, and whereby we can incur no danger in *bliging* ENGLAND. For this kind of commodity will bear exportation, the fleſh being of too tender a con- nce to admit a long continuance in ſalt, *although, per- s, I could name a country, which would be glad to eat our whole nation without it.*

After all, I am not ſo violently bent upon my own opi- n as to reject any offer propoſed by wiſe men, which l be found equally innocent, cheap, eaſy, and effectual. before ſomething of that kind ſhall be advanced in con- liction to my ſcheme, and offering a better, I deſire author or authors will be pleaſed maturely to conſider points. *Firſt*, As things now ſtand, how they will be to find food and raiment for a hundred thouſand uſe- mouths and backs. And, *ſecondly*, There being a nd million of creatures in human figure throughout this gdom, whoſe whole ſubſiſtence put into a common ſtock ld leave them in debt two millions of pounds *Sterling*; ing thoſe who are beggars by profeſſion, to the bulk of ers, cottagers, and labourers, with their wives and dren, who are beggars in effect; I deſire thoſe politi- s who diſlike my overture, and may perhaps be ſo bold ttempt an anſwer, that they will firſt aſk the parents of e mortals, whether they would not at this day think great happineſs to have been ſold for food at a year in the manner I preſcribe, and thereby have avoided a perpetual ſcene of misfortunes, as they have ſince e through, by the *oppreſſion of landlords*, the *impoſſi- y of paying rent without money or trade*, the *want ommon ſuſtenance*, with neither *houſe nor cloaths* to co- them from the inclemencies of the weather, and the t *inevitable proſpect of entailing the like*, or greater ries upon their *breed for ever*.

profeſs, in the ſincerity of my heart, that I have not *leaſt perſonal intereſt* in endeavouring to promote this

neceſſary work, having no other motive than the *public good of my country, by advancing our trade, providing for infants, relieving the poor, and giving ſome pleaſure to the rich.* I have no children, by which I can propoſe to get a ſingle penny; the youngeſt being nine years old, and my wife paſt childbearing.

To

To the Honourable houſe of Commons, *&c.*

The humble PETITION of the FOOTMEN in and about the city of Dublin,

[Written in the year 1732.]

Humbly ſheweth,

THAT your *petitioners* are a great and numerous *ſociety*, endowed with ſeveral privileges time out of mind.

That certain *lewd*, *idle*, and *diſorderly* perſons for ſeveral months paſt, as it is notoriouſly known, have been daily ſeen in the public walks of this city, habited ſometimes in *green coats*, and ſometimes *laced*, with long *oaken cudgels* in their hands, and without ſwords; in hopes to procure favour, by that advantage, with a great number of ladies who frequent thoſe walks; pretending and giving themſelves out to be true genuine Iriſh *footmen*; whereas they can be proved to be no better than common *coupees*, as a judicious eye may ſoon diſcover, by their *awkward*, *clumſey*, *ungenteel* gait and behaviour; by their unſkilfulneſs in dreſs even with the advantage of our habits; by their ill-favoured countenances, with an air of *impudence* and *dulneſs* peculiar to the reſt of their brethren, who have not yet arrived at that tranſcendent pitch of aſſurance; although it may be juſtly apprehended that they will do ſo in time, if theſe *counterfeits* ſhall happen to ſucceed in their evil deſign of paſſing for *real footmen*, thereby to render themſelves more amiable to the ladies.

Your *petitioners* do farther alledge, that many of the ſaid *counterfeits*, upon a ſtrict examination, have been found in the act of *ſtrutting*, *ſtaring*, *ſwearing*, *ſwaggering*, in a manner that plainly ſhewed their beſt endeavours *to imitate us*. Wherein, although they did not exceed, yet by their ignorant and ungainly way of copying

pying our graces, the utmoſt indignity was endeavoured to be caſt upon our whole profeſſion.

Your *petitioners* do therefore make it their humble requeſt, that this *Honourable houſe* (to many of whom your *petitioners* are nearly *allied*) will pleaſe to take this grievance into your moſt ſerious conſideration: humbly ſubmitting, whether it would not be proper, that certain *officers* might at the public charge be employed to ſearch for, and diſcover all ſuch *counterfeit footmen*; to carry them before the next *juſtice* of peace, by whoſe warrant, upon the firſt conviction, they ſhould be ſtripped of their *coats* and *oaken* ornaments, and be ſet two hours in the ſtocks; upon the ſecond conviction, beſides ſtripping, be ſet ſix hours in the ſtocks, with a paper pinned on their breaſts, ſignifying their crime, in large capital letters, and in the following words: *A. B. commonly called A. B. Eſq; a toupee, and a notorious impoſtor, who preſumed to perſonate a true Iriſh footman.*

And for any other offence, the ſaid *toupee* ſhall be committed to Bridewell, whipped three times, forced to hard labour for a month, and not to be ſet at liberty till he ſhall have given ſufficient ſecurity for his good behaviour.

Your *Honours* will pleaſe to obſerve, with what lenity we propoſe to treat theſe enormous offenders, who have already brought ſuch a ſcandal on our *honourable calling*, that ſeveral well-meaning people have miſtaken them to be of our *fraternity*, in diminution to that credit and dignity whereby we have ſupported our ſtation, as we always did, in the *worſt of times*. And we farther beg leave to remark, that this was manifeſtly done with a *ſeditious* deſign to render us leſs capable of ſerving the *public* in any great employments, as ſeveral of our *fraternity*, as well as our *anceſtors*, have done.

We do therefore humbly implore your *Honours* to give neceſſary orders for our relief in this preſent exigency, and your *petitioners* (as in duty bound) ſhall ever pray, *&c.*

PROPOSAL for giving badges to the BEGGARS in all the pariſhes of Dublin.

By the Dean of St Patrick's.

Written in the year 1737.

T hath been a general complaint, that the poor-houſe (eſpecially ſince the new conſtitution by act of parliament) hath been of no benefit to this city, for the eaſe of ich it was wholly intended. I had the honour to be a mber of it many years before it was new modelled by : legiſlature; not from any perſonal regard, but merely one of the two Deans, who are of courſe put into moſt mmiſſions that relate to the city; and I have likewiſe the nour to have been left out of ſeveral commiſſions upon : ſcore of party, in which my predeceſſors time out of nd have always been members.

The firſt commiſſion was made up of about fifty perſons, ich were the lord mayor, aldermen, and ſheriffs, and ne few other citizens; the judges, the two archbiſhops, : two deans of the city, and one or two more gentlemen: id I muſt confeſs my opinion, that the diſſolving the old mmiſſion, and eſtabliſhing a new one of near three times e number, have been the great cauſe of rendering ſo od a deſign not only uſeleſs, but a grievance inſtead of a nefit to the city. In the preſent commiſſion all the city-:rgy are included, beſides a great number of 'ſquires, t only thoſe who reſide in Dublin and the neighbourod, but ſeveral who live at a great diſtance, and cannot ſſibly have the leaſt concern for the advantage of the y.

At the few general meetings that I have attended ſince e new eſtabliſhment, I obſerved very little was done ex-ɔt one or two acts of extreme juſtice, which I then ught might as well have been ſpared: and I have found

found the court of aſſiſtants uſually taken up in little wrangles about coachmen, or adjuſting accounts of meal and ſmall beer; which, however neceſſary, might ſometimes have given place to matters of much greater moment, I mean ſome ſchemes recommended to the general board for anſwering the chief ends in erecting and eſtabliſhing ſuch a poor-houſe, and endowing it with ſo conſiderable a revenue: and the principal end I take to have been that of maintaining the poor and orphans of the city, where the pariſhes are not able to do it; and clearing the ſtreets from all ſtrollers, foreigners, and ſturdy beggars, with which, to the univerſal complaint and admiration, Dublin is more infeſted ſince the eſtabliſhment of the poor-houſe, than it was ever known to be ſince its firſt erection.

As the whole fund for ſupporting this hoſpital is raiſed only from the inhabitants of the city; ſo there can be hardly any thing more abſurd than to ſee it miſemployed in maintaining foreign beggars, and baſtards, or orphans of farmers, whoſe country landlords never contributed one ſhilling towards their ſupport. I would engage, that half this revenue, if employed with common care, and no very great degree of common honeſty, would maintain all the real objects of charity in this city, except a ſmall number of original poor in every pariſh, who might, without being burthenſome to the pariſhioners, find a tolerable ſupport.

I have for ſome years paſt applied myſelf to ſeveral lord mayors, and the late Archbiſhop of Dublin, for a remedy to this evil of foreign beggars; and they all appeared ready to receive a very plain propoſal, I mean that of badging the original poor of every pariſh, who begged in the ſtreets; that the ſaid beggars ſhould be confined to their own pariſhes; that they ſhould wear their badges well ſewn upon one of their ſhoulders, always viſible, on pain of being whipped and turned out of town; or whatever legal puniſhment may be thought proper and effectual. But, by the wrong way of thinking in ſome clergymen, and the indifference of others, this method was perpetually defeated, to their own continual diſquiet, which they do not ill deſerve; and if the grievance affect

affected only them, it would be of leſs conſequence; becauſe the remedy is in their own power: but all ſtreet-walkers and ſhopkeepers bear an equal ſhare in its hourly vexation.

I never heard more than one objection againſt this expedient of badging the poor, and confining their walks to their ſeveral pariſhes. The objection was this: What ſhall we do with the foreign beggars? muſt they be left to ſtarve? I anſwered, No; but they muſt be driven or whipped out of town; and let the next country-pariſh do as they pleaſe, or rather, after the practice in England, ſend them from one pariſh to another, until they reach their own homes. By the old laws of England ſtill in force, every pariſh is bound to maintain its own poor; and the matter is of no ſuch conſequence in this point as ſome would make it, whether a country-pariſh be rich or poor. In the remoter and poorer pariſhes of the kingdom, all neceſſaries for life, proper for poor people, are comparatively cheaper; I mean butter-milk, oat-meal, potatoes, and other vegetables; and every farmer or cottager, who is not himſelf a beggar, can ſometimes ſpare a ſup or a morſel, not worth the fourth part of a farthing, to an indigent neighbour of his own pariſh, who is diſabled from work. A beggar native of the pariſh is known to the 'ſquire, to the church-miniſter, to the Popiſh prieſt, or the conventicle-teacher, as well as to every farmer: he hath generally ſome relations able to live, and contribute ſomething to his maintenance. None of which advantages can be reaſonably expected on a removal to places where he is altogether unknown. If he be not quite maimed, he and his trull, and litter of brats (if he has any), may get half their ſupport by doing ſome kind of work in their power, and thereby be leſs burdenſome to the people. In ſhort, all neceſſaries of life grow in the country, and not in cities, and are cheaper where they grow; nor is it equitable that beggars ſhould put us to the charge of giving them victuals, and the carriage too.

But when the ſpirit of wandering takes him, attended by his females and their equipage of children, he becomes a nuiſance to the whole country: he and his female are *thieves, and teach* the trade of ſtealing to their brood as ſoon.

four years old; and if his infirmities be counterfeit, it is dangerous for a ſingle perſon unarmed to meet him on the road. He wanders from one country to another, but ſtill with a view to this town, whither he arrives at laſt, and enjoys all the privileges of a Dublin beggar.

I do not wonder that the country-'ſquires ſhould be very willing to ſend up their colonies; but why the city ſhould be content to receive them, is beyond my imagination.

If the city were obliged by their charter to maintain a thouſand beggars, they could do it cheaper by eighty *per cent.* a hundred miles off than in this town, or in any of its ſuburbs.

There is no village in Connaught, that in proportion ſhares ſo deeply in the daily increaſing miſeries of Ireland as its capital city; to which miſeries there hardly remained any addition, except the perpetual ſwarms of foreign beggars, who might be baniſhed in a month without expenſe, and with very little trouble.

As I am perſonally acquainted with a great number of ſtreet-beggars, I find ſome weak attempts have been made in one or two pariſhes to promote the wearing of badges; and my firſt queſtion to thoſe who aſk an alms, is, *Where is your badge?* I have, in ſeveral years, met with about a dozen who were ready to produce them, ſome out of their pockets, others from under their coat, and two or three on their ſhoulders, only covered with a ſort of capes which they could lift up or let down upon occaſion. They are too lazy to work; they are not afraid to ſteal, nor aſhamed to beg, and yet are too proud to be ſeen with a badge: as many of them have confeſſed to me, and not a few with very injurious terms, particularly the females. They look upon ſuch an obligation as a high indignity done to their office. I appeal to all indifferent people, whether ſuch wretches deſerve to be relieved. As to myſelf, I muſt confeſs, this abſurd inſolence hath ſo affected me, that for ſeveral years paſt I have not diſpoſed of one ſingle farthing to a ſtreet-beggar, nor intend to do ſo until I ſee a better *regulation*; and I have endeavoured to perſuade all my *brother*-walkers to follow my example, which moſt of them aſſure me they do. For, if beggary be not able to

out pride, it cannot deſerve charity. However, as to perſons in coaches and chairs, they bear but little of the perſecution we ſuffer, and are willing to leave it entirely upon us.

To ſay the truth, there is not a more undeſerving vicious race of humankind than the bulk of thoſe who are reduced to beggary, even in this beggarly country. For, as a great part of our public miſeries is originally owing to our own faults, (but what thoſe faults are, I am grown by experience too wary to mention), ſo I am confident, that among the meaner people nineteen in twenty of thoſe who are reduced to a ſtarving condition, did not become ſo by what the lawyers call the work of God either upon their bodies or goods; but merely from their own idleneſs, attended with all manner of vices, particularly drunkenneſs, thievery, and cheating.

Whoever inquires, as I have frequently done, from thoſe who have aſked me an alms, what was their former courſe of life, will find them to have been ſervants in good families, broken tradeſmen, labourers, cottagers, and what they call decayed houſekeepers; but (to uſe their own cant) reduced by loſſes and croſſes, by which nothing can be underſtood but idleneſs and vice.

As this is the only Chriſtian country where people, contrary to the old maxim, are the poverty and not the riches of the nation; ſo the bleſſing of *increaſe* and *multiply*, is by us converted into a curſe; and as marriage hath been ever countenanced in all free countries, ſo we ſhould be leſs miſerable if it were diſcouraged in ours, as far as can be conſiſtent with Chriſtianity. It is ſeldom known in England, that the labourer, the lower mechanic, the ſervant, or the cottager, thinks of marrying, until he hath ſaved up a ſtock of money ſufficient to carry on his buſineſs; nor takes a wife without a ſuitable portion; and as ſeldom fails of making a yearly addition to that ſtock, with a view of providing for his children. But in this kingdom the caſe is directly contrary, where many thouſand couples are yearly married, whoſe whole united fortunes, bating the rags on their backs, would not be ſufficient to purchaſe a pint of butter-milk for their wedding-ſupper, nor have *any proſpect of ſupporting* their *honourable ſtate* but by ſervice.

ſervice or labour, or thievery. Nay, their *happineſs* is often deferred until they find credit to borrow, or cunning to ſteal a ſhilling to pay their Popiſh prieſt, or infamous couple-beggar. Surely no miraculous portion of wiſdom would be required to find ſome kind of remedy againſt this deſtructive evil, or, at leaſt, not to draw the conſequences of it upon our decaying city, the greateſt part whereof muſt of courſe in a few years become deſolate, or in ruins.

In all other nations, that are not abſolutely barbarous, parents think themſelves bound by the law of nature and reaſon to make ſome proviſion for their children; but the reaſon offered by the inhabitants of Ireland for marrying *is*, that they may have children to maintain them when they grow old, and unable to work.

I am informed, that we have been for ſome time paſt extremely obliged to England for one very beneficial branch of commerce; for, it ſeems, they are grown ſo gracious as to tranſmit us continually colonies of beggars, in return for a million of money they receive yearly from hence. That I may give no offence, I profeſs to mean real Engliſh beggars in the literal meaning of the word, as it is uſually underſtood by Proteſtants. It ſeems the juſtices of the peace and pariſh-officers in the weſtern coaſts of England have a good while followed the trade of exporting hither their ſupernumerary beggars, in order to advance the Engliſh Proteſtant intereſt among us; and theſe they are ſo kind to ſend over *gratis* and duty-free. I have had the honour more than once to attend large cargoes of them from Cheſter to Dublin: and I was then ſo ignorant as to give my opinion, that our city ſhould receive them into Bridewell, and, after a month's reſidence, having been well whipped twice a-day, fed with bran and water, and put to hard labour, they ſhould be returned honeſtly back with thanks, as cheap as they came: or, if that were not approved of, I propoſed, that whereas one Engliſhman is allowed to be of equal intrinſic value with twelve born in Ireland, we ſhould in juſtice return them a dozen for one to diſpoſe of as they pleaſed.

As to the native poor of this city, there would be little or no damage in confining them to their ſeveral pariſhes.

For

or inſtance: a beggar of the pariſh of St Warborough's, or ny other pariſh here, if he be an object of compaſſion, hath n equal chance to receive his proportion of alms from eve- y charitable hand: becauſe the inhabitants, one or other, alk through every ſtreet in town, and give their alms, ithout conſidering the place, where-ever they think it ay be well diſpoſed of; and theſe helps, added to what ey get in eatables by going from houſe to houſe among e gentry and citizens, will, without being very burthen- ome, be ſufficient to keep them alive.

It is true, the poor of the ſuburb-pariſhes will not have together the ſame advantage, becauſe they are not equal- y in the road of buſineſs and paſſengers: but here it is to e conſidered, that the beggars there have not ſo good a itle to public charity, becauſe moſt of them are ſtrollers rom the country, and compoſe a principal part of that great uiſance which we ought to remove.

I ſhould be apt to think, that few things can be more kſome to a city-miniſter, than a number of beggars which lo not belong to his diſtrict, whom he hath no obligation o take care of, who are no part of his flock, and who take he bread out of the mouths of thoſe to whom it proper- y belongs. When I mention this abuſe to any miniſter of city-pariſh, he uſually lays the fault upon the beadles, who, he ſays, are bribed by the foreign beggars; and, as thoſe beadles often keep alehouſes, they find their account n ſuch cuſtomers. This evil might eaſily be remedied, if the pariſhes would make ſome ſmall addition to the ſalaries of a beadle, and be more careful in the choice of thoſe of- ficers. But, I conceive, there is one effectual method in the power of every miniſter to put in practice; I mean, by making it the intereſt of all his own original poor to drive out intruders: for if the pariſh-beggars were abſo- lutely forbidden by the miniſter and church-officers to ſuffer ſtrollers to come into the pariſh, upon pain of them- ſelves not being permitted to beg alms at the church-doors, or at the houſes and ſhops of the inhabitants, they would prevent interlopers more effectually than twenty beadles.

And here I cannot but take notice of the great indiſcre- tion of our city-ſhopkeepers, who ſuffer their doors to be daily beſieged by crouds of beggars (as the gates of

a lord are by duns), to the great diſguſt and vexation of many cuſtomers, whom I have frequently obſerved to go to other ſhops, rather than ſuffer ſuch a perſecution; which might eaſily be avoided, if no foreign beggars were allowed to infeſt them.

Wherefore I do aſſert, that the ſhopkeepers, who are the greateſt complainers of this grievance, lamenting that for every cuſtomer they are worried by fifty beggars, do very well deſerve what they ſuffer, when a 'prentice with a horſe-whip is able to laſh every beggar from the ſhop, who is not of the pariſh, and doth not wear the badge of that pariſh on his ſhoulder, well faſtened, and fairly viſible; and if this practice were univerſal in every houſe to all the ſturdy vagrants, we ſhould in a few weeks clear the town of all mendicants, except thoſe who have a proper title to our charity: as for the aged and infirm, it would be ſufficient to give them nothing, and then they muſt ſtarve, or follow their brethren.

It was the city that firſt endowed this hoſpital, and thoſe who afterwards contributed, as they were ſuch who generally inhabited here, ſo they intended what they gave to be for the uſe of the city's poor. The revenues, which have ſince been raiſed by parliament, are wholly paid by the city, without the leaſt charge upon any other part of the kingdom; and therefore nothing could more defeat the original deſign, than to miſapply thoſe revenues on ſtrolling beggars or baſtards from the country, which bears no ſhare in the charges we are at.

If ſome of the out-pariſhes be overburthened with poor, the reaſon muſt be, that the greateſt part of thoſe poor are ſtrollers from the country, who neſtle themſelves where they can find the cheapeſt lodgings, and from thence infeſt every part of the town, out of which they ought to be whipped as a moſt inſufferable nuiſance, being nothing elſe but a profligate clan of thieves, drunkards, heathens, and whoremongers, fitter to be rooted out of the face of the earth, than ſuffered to levy a vaſt annual tax upon the city, which ſhares too deep in the public miſeries brought on us by the oppreſſions we lie under from our neighbours, our brethren, our countrymen, our Fellow-Proteſtants, and fellow-ſubjects.

Sow

Some time ago I was appointed one of a committee to quire into the ſtate of the workhouſe; where we found at a charity was beſtowed by a great perſon for a certain ne, which in its conſequences operated very much to e detriment of the houſe; for, when the time was elapſ-d, all thoſe who were ſupported by that charity conti-ed on the ſame foot with the reſt on the foundation; d, being generally a pack of profligate, vagabond wretch- from ſeveral parts of the kingdom, corrupted all the ſt; ſo partial, or treacherous, or intereſted, or igno-nt, or miſtaken, are generally all recommenders, not only employments, but even to charity itſelf.

I know it is complained, that the difficulty of driving reign beggars out of the city is charged upon the *beſ-vers*, (as they are called), who find their accounts beſt ſuffering thoſe vagarants to follow their trade through ery part of the town. But this abuſe might eaſily be nedied, and very much to the advantage of the whole y, if better ſalaries were given to thoſe who execute it office in the ſeveral pariſhes, and would make it ir intereſt to clear the town of thoſe caterpillers, ra-r than hazard the loſs of an employment that would e them an honeſt livelihood. But, if that ſhould fail, t a general reſolution of never giving charity to a ſtreet-ggar out of his own pariſh, or without a viſible badge, uld infallibly force all vagrants to depart.

There is generally a vagabond ſpirit in beggars, which ght to be diſcouraged, and ſeverely puniſhed. It is ing to the ſame cauſes that drove them into poverty; mean, idleneſs, drunkenneſs, and raſh marriages with-t the leaſt proſpect of ſupporting a family by honeſt en-avours, which never came into their thoughts. It is ſerved, that hardly one beggar in twenty looks upon nſelf to be relieved by receiving bread, or other food; d they have in this town been frequently ſeen to pour t of their pitchers good broth, that hath been given em, into the kennel; neither do they much regard aths, unleſs to ſell them; for their rags are part of ir tools with which they work: they want only ale, *ndy, and other ſtrong* liquors, which cannot be had without

without money: and money, as they conceive, alway abounds in the metropolis.

I had ſome other thoughts to offer upon this ſubject But as I am a deſponder in my nature, and have tolerabl well diſcovered the diſpoſition of our people, who neve will move a ſtep towards eaſing themſelves from any on ſingle grievance; it will be thought, that I have alread ſaid too much, and to little or no purpoſe, which hat often been the fate or fortune of the writer.

April 22.
1737.

J. SWIFT.

ADVICE

VICE to the freemen of the city of Dublin, in the choice of a MEMBER to represent them in PARLIAMENT *.

THOSE few writers, who, ſince the death of Alderman Burton, have employed their pens in giving e to our citizens, how they ſhould proceed in elect- new repreſentative for the next ſeſſions, having laid their pens; I have reaſon to hope, that all true lo- of their country in general, and particularly thoſe who any regard for the privileges and liberties of this and ancient city, will think a ſecond, and a third before they come to a final determination upon what n they reſolve to fix their choice.

m told, there are only two perſons who ſet up for dates; one is the preſent Lord Mayor †, and the o- , a gentleman of good eſteem, and alderman of the a merchant of reputation, and poſſeſſed of a conſider- office ‖ under the crown. The queſtion is, Which ſe two perſons it will be moſt for the advantage of ty to elect? I have but little acquaintance with ci- ſo that my inquiries will be very impartial, and n only from the general character and ſituation of

order to this, I muſt offer my countrymen and fel- itizens ſome reaſons why I think they ought to be than ordinarily careful at this juncture, upon whom beſtow their votes.

n perform this with more clearneſs, it may be pro- n give you a ſhort ſtate of our unfortunate country.

* his piece was publiſhed in the year 1733; and as it may ful upon a like occaſion, we have here given it a place.

† umphry French.

‖ ohn Macaral.

egiſter to the barracks.

We conſiſt of two parties, I do not mean Popiſh and Proteſtant, high and low church, Epiſcopal and Sectarians, Whig and Tory; but of thoſe of Engliſh who happen to be born in this kingdom, (whoſe anceſtors reduced the whole nation under the obedience of the Engliſh crown), and the gentlemen ſent from t'other ſide to poſſeſs moſt of the chief employments here. This latter party is very much enlarged and ſtrengthened by the whole power in the church, the law, the army, the revenue, and the civil adminiſtration depoſited in their hands: although for political ends, and to ſave appearances, ſome employments are ſtill depoſited (yet gradually in a ſmaller number) to perſons born here. This proceeding, fortified with good words and many promiſes, is ſufficient to flatter and feed the hopes of hundreds, who will never be one farthing the better, as they might eaſily be convinced, if they were qualified to think at all.

Civil employments of all kinds have been for ſeveral years paſt with great prudence made precarious, and during pleaſure; by which means the poſſeſſors are, and muſt inevitably be, for ever dependent: yet thoſe very few of any conſequence, which being dealt with ſo ſparing a hand to perſons born among us, are enough to keep hope alive in great numbers, who deſire to mend their condition by the favour of thoſe in power.

Now, my dear fellow-citizens, how is it poſſible you can conceive that any perſon who holds an office of ſome hundred pounds a-year, which may be taken from him whenever power ſhall think fit, will, if he ſhould be choſen a member for any city, dothe leaſt thing, when he ſits in the houſe, that he knows or fears may be diſpleaſing to thoſe who gave him, or continue him in that office? Believe me, theſe are no times to expect ſuch an exalted degree of virtue from mortal men. *Blazing ſtars* are much more frequently ſeen than ſuch heroical worthies. And I could ſooner hope to find ten thouſand pounds by digging in my garden, than ſuch a *phœnix* by ſearching among the preſent race of mankind.

I cannot forbear thinking it a very erroneous as well as modern maxim of politics in the Engliſh nation, to take every opportunity of depreſſing Ireland, whereof an in-

dred inſtances may be produced in points of the higheſt importance, had within the memory of every middle-aged man: although many of the greateſt perſons among that party which now prevails, have formerly, upon that article, much differed in their opinion from their preſent ſucceſſors.

But ſo the fact ſtands at preſent. It is plain, that the court and country party here (I mean in the houſe of Commons) very ſeldom agree in any thing but their loyalty to his preſent Majeſty, their reſolutions to make him and his viceroy eaſy in the government, to the utmoſt of their power, under the preſent condition of the kingdom. But the perſons ſent from England, who (to a trifle) are poſſeſſed of the ſole executive power in all its branches, with their few adherents in poſſeſſion who were born here, and hundreds of expectants, hopers, and promiſees, put on quite contrary notions with regard to Ireland. They count upon a univerſal ſubmiſſion to whatever ſhall be demanded; wherein they act ſafely, becauſe none of themſelves, except the candidates, feel the leaſt of our preſſures.

I remember a perſon of diſtinction ſome days ago affirmed in a good deal of mixed company, and of both parties, that the gentry from England, who now enjoy our higheſt employments of all kinds, can never be poſſibly loſers of one farthing by the greateſt calamities that can befal this kingdom, except a plague that would ſweep away a million of our *hewers of wood, and drawers of water*; or an invaſion that would fright our grandees out of the kingdom. For this perſon argued, that while there was a penny left in the treaſury, the civil and military liſt muſt be paid; and that the Epiſcopal revenues, which are uſually farmed out at ſix times below the real value, could hardly fail: He inſiſted farther, that, as money diminiſhed, the prices of all neceſſaries for life muſt of conſequence do ſo too, which would be for the advantage of all perſons in employment, as well as of my Lords the Biſhops, and to the ruin of every body elſe. Among the company there wanted not men in office, beſides one or two expectants: yet I did not obſerve any of them diſpoſed to return an anſwer: but the conſequences drawn

drawn were theſe: That the great men in power ſent hither from the other ſide were by no means upon the ſame foot with his Majeſty's other ſubjects of Ireland. They had no common ligament to bind them with us; they ſuffered not with our ſufferings, and if it were poſſible for us to have any cauſe of rejoicing, they could not rejoice with us.

Suppoſe a perſon, born in this kingdom, ſhall happen by his ſervices for the Engliſh intereſt to have an employment conferred on him worth four hundred pounds a-year; and that he hath likewiſe an eſtate in land worth four hundred pounds a-year more: ſuppoſe him to ſit in parliament: then, ſuppoſe a land-tax to be brought in of five ſhillings a-pound for ten years; I tell you how this gentleman will compute. He hath four hundred pounds a-year in land: the tax he muſt pay yearly is one hundred pounds; by which, in ten years, he will pay only a thouſand pounds. But if he gives his vote againſt this tax, he will loſe four thouſand pounds by being turned out of his employment, together with the power and influence he hath, by virtue or colour of his employment; and thus the balance will be againſt him three thouſand pounds.

I deſire, my fellow-citizens, you will pleaſe to call to mind how many perſons you can vouch for among your acquaintance, who have ſo much virtue and ſelf-denial, as to loſe four hundred pounds a-year for life, together with the ſmiles and favour of power, and the hopes of higher advancement, merely out of a generous love of his country.

The contentions of parties in England are very different from thoſe among us. The battle there is fought for power and riches; and ſo it is indeed among us: but, whether a great employment be given to Tom or to Peter, they were both born in England, the profits are to be ſpent there. All employments (except a very few) are beſtowed on the natives: they do not ſend to Germany, Holland, Sweden, or Denmark, much leſs to Ireland, for chancellors, biſhops, judges, or other officers. Their ſalaries, whether well or ill got, are employed at home: and whatever their morals or politics be, the nation is no the poorer.

The houſe of Commons in England have frequently endeavoured to limit the number of members, who ſhould be allowed to have employments under the crown. Several acts have been made to that purpoſe, which many wiſe men think are not yet effectual enough, and many of them are rendered ineffectual by leaving the power of reelection. Our houſe of Commons conſiſts, I think, of about three hundred members; if one hundred of theſe ſhould happen to be made up of perſons already provided for, joined with expecters, compliers, eaſy to be perſuaded, ſuch as will give a vote for a friend who is in hopes to get ſomething; if they be merry companions, without ſuſpicion, of a natural baſhfulneſs, not apt or able to look forwards; if good words, ſmiles, and careſſes, have any power over them, the larger part of a ſecond hundred may be very eaſily brought in at a moſt reaſonable rate.

There is an Engliſhman * of no long ſtanding among us, but in an employment of great truſt, power, and profit. This excellent perſon did lately publiſh, at his own expenſe, a pamphlet, printed in England by authority, to juſtify the bill for a general *excife*, or inland duty, in order to introduce that bleſſed ſcheme among us. What a tender care muſt ſuch an Engliſh patriot for Ireland have of our intereſt, if he ſhould condeſcend to ſit in our parliament? I will bridle my indignation. However, methinks I long to ſee that mortal, who would with pleaſure blow us up all at a blaſt: but he duly receives his thouſand pounds a-year; makes his progreſs like a king; is received in pomp at every town † and village where he travels, and ſhines in the Engliſh news-papers.

I will now apply what I have ſaid to you, my brethren and fellow-citizens. Count upon it, as a truth next to your creed, that no one perſon in office, of which he is not maſter for life, whether born here or in England, will ever hazard that office for the good of this country.

* Edward Thompſon, Eſq; member of parliament for York, and a commiſſioner of the revenue of Ireland.

† *Mr Thompſon* was preſented with his freedom of ſeveral *corporations in Ireland.*

One

One of your candidates is of this kind, and I believe hi to be an honeſt gentleman, as the word *honeſt* is general underſtood. But he loves his employment better than l doth you, or his country, or all the countries upon earth Will you contribute or give him city-ſecurity to pay hi the value of his employment, if it ſhould be taken fro him during his life, for voting on all occaſions with the h neſt country-party in the houſe? although I much queſtio whether he would do it even upon that condition.

Wherefore, ſince there are but two candidates, I intre you will fix on the preſent Lord Mayor. He ha ſhewn more virtue, more activity, more ſkill, in o year's government of the city, than an hundred years e equal. He hath endeavoured with great ſucceſs to bani frauds, corruptions, and all other abuſes from among you.

A dozen ſuch men in power would be able to reform kingdom. He hath no employment under the crown; n is likely to get or ſolicit for any; his education having n turned him that way. I will aſſure for no man's futu conduct; but he who hath hitherto practiſed the rules virtue with ſo much difficulty, in ſo great and buſy a ſt tion, deſerves your thanks, and the beſt return you c make him; and you, my brethren, have no other to gi him, than that of repreſenting you in parliament. Te me not of your engagements and promiſes to anothe Your promiſes were ſins of inconſideration at beſt; a you are bound to repent and annul them. That gentl man, although with good reputation, is already engage on the other ſide. He hath four hundred pounds a-ye under the crown, which he is too wiſe to part with, b ſacrificing ſo good an eſtabliſhment to the empty names virtue, and love of his country. I can aſſure you, t DRAPIER is in the intereſts of the preſent Lord Mayo whatever you may be told to the contrary. I have late heard him declare ſo in public company, and offer ſome theſe very reaſons in defence of his opinion; although h hath a regard and eſteem for the other gentleman, h would not anſwer the good of the city and the kingdom f a compliment.

he Lord Mayor's ſeverity to ſome unfair dealers
d not turn the honeſt men among them againſt him.
tever he did, was for the advantage of thoſe very
rs whoſe diſhoneſt members he puniſhed. He hath
rto been above temptation to act wrong; and there-
as mankind goes, he is the moſt likely to act right as
reſentative of your city, as he conſtantly did in the
nment of it.

Some

Some CONSIDERATIONS humbly offered to the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, the c of Aldermen and Common Council of Hon. city of Dublin, in the choice of a CORDER *.

THE office of recorder to this city being vaca the death of a very worthy gentleman, it is that five or ſix perſons are ſoliciting to ſucceed him i employment. I am a ſtranger to all their perſons, a moſt of their characters; which latter, I hope, will a time be canvaſſed with more decency, than it ſome happeneth upon the like occaſions. Therefore, as wholly impartial, I can with more freedom delive thoughts, how the ſeveral perſons and parties conc ought to proceed in electing a recorder for this grea ancient city.

And firſt, as it is a very natural, ſo I can by no r think it an unreaſonable opinion, that the ſons, or ne lations of aldermen, and other deſerving citizens, ſl be duly regarded, as proper competitors for an employ in the city's diſpoſal: provided they be equally qua with other candidates; and provided that ſuch em ments require no more than common abilities and con honeſty. But, in the choice of a recorder, the caſe tirely different. He ought to be a perſon of good ab in his calling; of an unſpotted character; an able p tioner; one who hath occaſionally merited of this cit fore: he ought to be of ſome maturity in years; a ber of parliament, and likely to continue ſo; regul his life; firm in his loyalty to the Hanover ſucceſſion dulgent to tender conſciences; but, at the ſame ti firm adherer to the eſtabliſhed church. If he be ſ one who hath already ſat in parliament, it ought

* Upon the death of Mr Stoyte, recorder of the city of D in the year 1733, ſeveral gentlemen declared themſelves cand to ſucceed him: upon which the Dean wrote this paper Eaton Stannard, Eſq; (a gentleman of great worth and and very knowing in his profeſſion), was elected.

quired of what weight he was there; whether he voted
all occaſions for the good of his country; and particu-
rly for advancing the trade and freedom of this city:
hether he be engaged in any faction, either national or
ligious: and laſtly, whether he be a man of courage;
t to be drawn from his duty by the frowns or menaces
power, nor capable to be corrupted by allurements or
ibes. ——Theſe, and many other particulars, are of in-
itely more conſequence than that ſingle circumſtance
being deſcended by a direct or collateral line from any
lerman, or diſtinguiſhed citizen, dead or alive.

There is not a dealer or ſhopkeeper in this city of any
ſtance, whoſe thriving, leſs or more, may not depend
on the good or ill conduct of a recorder. He is to watch
ery motion in parliament, that may the leaſt affect the
edom, trade, or welfare of it.

In this approaching election, the Commons, as they are
numerous body, ſo they ſeem to be moſt concerned in
int of intereſt; and their intereſt ought to be moſt re-
rded, becauſe it altogether dependeth upon the true in-
reſt of the city. They have no private views; and gi-
g their votes, as I am informed, by balloting, they
under no awe, or fear of diſobliging competitors. It
therefore hoped, that they will duly conſider, which of
e candidates is moſt likely to advance the trade of them-
lves and their brother-citizens; to defend their liberties,
th *in* and *out* of parliament, againſt all attempts of in-
achment or oppreſſion. And ſo God direct them in the
ice of a recorder, who may for many years ſupply that
portant office with ſkill, diligence, courage, and fideli-
. And let all the people ſay, *Amen*.

The LAST SPEECH and DYING WO EBENEZER ELLISTON, who was e the 2d day of May 1722 *.

Publiſhed at his deſire, for the common

[About the time that the following ſpeech was w town was much peſtered with *ſtreet-robbers*; who, in manner, would ſeize on gentlemen, and take them i corners, and after they had robbed them, would bound and gagged. It is remarkable, that this ſpe good an effect, that there have been very few robbe kind committed ſince.]

I AM now going to ſuffer the juſt puniſhm crimes, preſcribed by the law of God and m I know it is the conſtant cuſtom, that thoſe wh this place ſhould have ſpeeches made for them, about in their own hearing, as they are carried tion; and truly they are ſuch ſpeeches, that, al fraternity be an ignorant illiterate people, they v a man aſhamed to have ſuch nonſenſe and fa charged upon him, even when he is going to t They contain a pretended account of our birth of the fact for which we are to die, of our ſinc ance, and a declaration of our religion. I ca to avoid the ſame treatment with my predeceſſo ever, having had an education one or two de than thoſe of my rank and profeſſion, I have

* This piece had a moſt excellent effect. The t bonds, and all the lower claſs of people, though work of Ebenezer Elliſton, who had received the good education; and the ſtyle of this paper is ſo perſon in ſuch circumſtances, that it would almo niceſt judgment. OTWAY.

ering, ever ſince my commitment, what it might be pro-
er for me to deliver upon this occaſion.

And firſt, I cannot ſay from the bottom of my heart,
at I am truly ſorry for the offence I have given to God
nd the world; but I am very much ſo, for the bad ſuc-
ſs of my villanies in bringing me to this untimely end.
or it is plainly evident, that after having ſome time ago
btained a pardon from the crown, I again took up my old
ade; my evil habits were ſo rooted in me, and I was
rown ſo unfit for any other kind of employment. And
herefore, although, in compliance with my friends, I re-
lve to go to the gallows after the uſual manner, kneeling,
ith a book in my hand, and my eyes lift up; yet I ſhall
el no more devotion in my heart than I have obſerved in
y comrades, who have been drunk among common
hores the very night before their execution. I can ſay
rther from my own knowledge, that two of my fraterni-
after they had been hanged, and wonderfully came to
e, and made their eſcapes, as it ſometimes happens, pro-
d afterwards the wickedeſt rogues I ever knew, and ſo
ntinued until they were hanged again for good and all;
d yet they had the impudence at both times they went to
e gallows to ſmite their breaſts, and lift up their eyes to
aven all the way.

Secondly, From the knowledge I have of my own wic-
ed diſpoſitions, and that of my comrades, I give it as my
pinion, that nothing can be more unfortunate to the pu-
lic, than the mercy of the government in ever pardoning
r tranſporting us; unleſs when we betray one another, as
e never fail to do, if we are ſure to be well paid, and
hen a pardon may do good; by the ſame rule, *That it is
etter to have but one fox in a farm than three or four.*
ut we generally make a ſhift to return after being
ranſported, and are ten times greater rogues than before,
nd much more cunning. Beſides, I know it by experience,
at ſome hope we have of finding mercy, when we are
ried, or after we are condemned, is always a great en-
ouragement to us.

Thirdly, Nothing is more dangerous to idle young fel-
ows *than the company* of thoſe odious common whores
e *frequent, and of* which this town is full: theſe wretch-
ea

es puts us upon all miſchief to feed their luſts and ex vagancies: they are ten times more bloody and cruel t men, their advice is always not to ſpare if we are purſu they get drunk with us, and are common to us all; yet, if they can get any thing by it, are ſure to be our trayors.

Now, as I am a dying man, ſomething I have done wl may be of good uſe to the public. I have left with honeſt man, (and indeed the only honeſt man I was e acquainted with), the names of all my wicked breth the preſent places of their abode, with a ſhort accoun the chief crimes they have committed; in many of wl I have been their accomplice, and heard the reſt from t own mouths; I have likewiſe ſet down the names of th we call our ſetters, of the wicked houſes we frequent, of thoſe who receive and buy our ſtolen goods. I h ſolemnly charged this honeſt man, and have received promiſe upon oath, that whenever he hears of any ro to be tried for robbing, or houſe-breaking, he will l into his liſt, and if he finds the name there of the t concerned, to ſend the whole paper to the governme Of this I here give my companions fair and public warni and hope they will take it.

In the paper above mentioned, which I left with friend, I have alſo ſet down the names of ſeveral gen men who have been robbed in Dublin ſtreets for th years paſt: I have told the circumſtances of thoſe r beries; and ſhewn plainly that nothing but the want common courage was the cauſe of their misfortune. I h therefore deſired my friend, that whenever any gentler happens to be robbed in the ſtreets, he will get that r tion printed and publiſhed with the firſt letters of th gentlemens names, who by their own want of bravery likely to be the cauſe of all the miſchief of that kind wh may happen for the future.

I cannot leave the world without a ſhort deſcription that kind of life, which I have led for ſome years pa and is exactly the ſame with the reſt of our wicked b thren.

Although we are generally ſo corrupted from our ch hood, as to have no ſenſe of goodneſs; yet ſome

avy always hangs about us, I know not what it is, that e are never eaſy till we are half-drunk among our whores d companions; nor ſleep ſound, unleſs we drink longer an we can ſtand. If we go abroad in the day, a wiſe an would eaſily find us to be rogues by our faces, we ve ſuch a ſuſpicious, fearful, and conſtrained counte- nce; often turning back, and ſlinking through narrow es and alleys. I have never failed of knowing a bro- er-thief by his looks, though I never ſaw him before. very man among us keeps his particular whore, who is wever common to us all, when we have a mind to ange. When we have got a booty, if it be in money, e divide it equally among our companions, and ſoon uander it away on our vices in thoſe houſes that receive ; for the maſter and miſtreſs, and the very tapſter, go acks; and beſides make us pay triple reckonings. If ir plunder be plate, watches, rings, ſnuff-boxes, and e like; we have cuſtomers in all quarters of the town to ke them off. I have ſeen a tankard worth fifteen pounds ld to a fellow in —— ſtreet for twenty ſhillings; and gold watch for thirty. I have ſet down his name, and at of ſeveral others in the paper already mentioned. e have ſetters watching in corners, and by dead walls, give us notice when a gentleman goes by; eſpecially if be any thing in drink. I believe in my conſcience, at if an account were made of a thouſand pounds in ſtolen ods; conſidering the low rates we ſell them at, the bribes t muſt give for concealment, the extortions of alehouſe- ckonings, and other neceſſary charges, there would not main fifty pounds clear to be divided among the robbers. nd out of this we muſt find cloaths for our whores, be- es treating them from morning to night; who in requital ward us with nothing but treachery and the pox. For en our money is gone, they are every moment threatening inform againſt us, if we will not go out and look for ore. If any thing in this world be like hell, as I have ard it deſcribed by our clergy, the trueſt picture of it muſt in the backroom of one of our alehouſes at midnight; ere a crew of robbers and their whores are met toge- er *after a booty*, and are beginning to grow drunk; *m which time*, until they are paſt their ſenſes, is ſuch

a continued horrible noiſe of curſing, blaſphemy, lewdneſs, ſcurrility, and brutiſh behaviour, ſuch roaring and confuſion, ſuch a clutter of mugs and pots at each other's heads; that bedlam, in compariſon, is a ſober and orderly place. At laſt they all tumble from their ſtools and benches, and ſleep away the reſt of the night; and generally the landlord or his wife, or ſome other whore who has a ſtronger head than the reſt, picks their pockets before they wake. The misfortune is, that we can never be eaſy till we are drunk; and our drunkenneſs conſtantly expoſes us to be more eaſily betrayed and taken.

This is a ſhort picture of the life I have led; which is more miſerable than that of the pooreſt labourer who works for four pence a-day; and yet cuſtom is ſo ſtrong, that I am confident, if I could make my eſcape at the foot of the gallows, I ſhould be following the ſame courſe this very evening. So that, upon the whole, we ought to be looked upon as the common enemies of mankind; whoſe intereſt it is to root us out like wolves and other miſchievous vermin, againſt which no fair play is required.

If I have done ſervice to men in what I have ſaid, I ſhall hope I have done ſervice to God; and that will be better than a ſilly ſpeech made for me, full of whining and canting, which I utterly deſpiſe, and have never been uſed to; yet ſuch a one I expect to have my ears tormented with, as I am paſſing along the ſtreets.

Good people, fare ye well; bad as I am, I leave many worſe behind me. I hope you ſhall ſee me die like a man the death of a dog.

E. E.

The

The INTELLIGENCER*.

NUMBER I.

[T may be ſaid, without offence to other *cities* of much greater conſequence to the world, that our town f Dublin doth not want its due proportion of *folly* and *ice* both native and imported; and as to thoſe imported, e have the advantage to receive them laſt, and conſe-

* The *Intelligencer* was a weekly paper undertaken by the Dean d Dr Sheridan in 1728, of which no more than twenty numbers ere ever publiſhed. The 1ſt, 3d, 5th, 7th, 9th, ſome verſes in e 8th, and at the end of the 10th, the 15th, and the 19th, were itten by the Dean. The 5th and 7th are put together and inted as they were publiſhed by Mr Pope in the 4th volume of eir miſcellanies, under the title of *An Eſſay on the fates of clergy-n*, vol. 7. p. 189. The poetry in the 8th, is the dialogue be-een *mad Mullinix and Timothy*, which is printed, as it was alſo ſſed by Mr Pope, in vol. 6. p. 193. The 9th he intitled *An y on modern education*, and by that name it will be found in l. 7. p. 197. The verſes at the end of the 10th, called *Tim and Fables*, are printed in vol. 7. p. 66. The 15th is a pamphlet ich Dr Sheridan, having written a ſhort introduction to, took in-the *Intelligencer*, merely to ſave the labour of writing a paper. s printed in volume 3. and intitled, *A ſhort view of the ſtate of land*. No 19. is alſo a tract which has been before publiſhed itſelf, and was taken into the *Intelligencer* for the ſame reaſon the former. The Dean and the Doctor ſoon became weary of eriodical work, in which they were diſappointed of aſſiſtance: : price was but one halfpenny; and ſo few were ſold, that the nter cōuld not afford to engage a young man of proper qualifi-ions to work up ſuch hints as ſhould be ſent him; of which re were enough, and which the undertakers hoped thus to nmunicate, with leſs labour to the public. The *Intelligencers* re collected into a volume, and reprinted in England in 1730. : letter 62. vol. 8. p. 143. 144.

quently,

quently, after our happy manner, to improve and refi upon them.

But, becauſe there are many effects of *folly* and *vi* among us, whereof ſome are *general*, others confined ſmaller numbers, and others again perhaps to a few *ind viduals*: there is a *ſociety* lately eſtabliſhed, who at gre expenſe have erected an *office of intelligence*, from whi they are to receive weekly information of all *importa events* and *ſingularities*, which this famous *metropolis* c furniſh. Strict injunctions are given to have the tru information; in order to which, certain qualified perſo are employed to attend upon duty in their ſeveral poſt ſome at the *play-houſe*, others in *churches*, ſome at *bal aſſemblies*, *coffeehouſes*, and *meetings* for *quadrille*; ſo at the ſeveral *courts of juſtice*, both *ſpiritual* and *temp ral*; ſome at the *college*, ſome upon my *lord mayor* a *aldermen* in their public affairs; laſtly, ſome to conve with *favourite chambermaids*, and to frequent thoſe *a houſes*, and *brandy-ſhops* where the *footmen* of great milies meet in a morning; only the * barracks and *parl ment-houſe* are excepted; becauſe we have yet found *enfans perdus* † bold enough to venture their perſons either. Out of theſe and ſome other *ſtorehouſes*, hope to gather materials enough to *inform*, or *divert*, *correct*, or *vex* the town.

But as *facts*, *paſſages*, and *adventures* of all kinds like to have the greateſt ſhare in our *paper*, whereof cannot always anſwer for the truth; due care ſhall taken to have them applied to feigned names, where all juſt offence will be removed; for if none be guil none will have cauſe to bluſh or be angry; if otherwi then the guilty perſon is ſafe for the future upon his *p ſent* amendment, and ſafe for the *preſent* from all but *own conſcience*.

There is another reſolution taken among us, which fear will give a greater and more general diſcontent, and of ſo ſingular a nature, that I have hardly confidence

* Barracks, buildings for the lodgment of ſoldiers.

† *Enfans perdus*, forlorn hope. See preface to the Biſhop Sarum's introduction, vol. 7. p. 215.

now

nough to mention it, although it be abſolutely neceſſary by way of apology for *ſo bold and unpopular an attempt*. But ſo it is, that we have taken a deſperate counſel to produce into the world every diſtinguiſhed action either of *juſtice*, *prudence*, *generoſity*, *charity*, *friendſhip*, or *public ſpirit*, which comes well atteſted to us. And although we ſhall neither here be ſo daring as to aſſign names, yet we ſhall hardly forbear to give ſome hints, that perhaps, to the great deſpleaſure of ſuch deſerving perſons, may endanger a diſcovery. For we think that even *virtue itſelf* ſhould ſubmit to ſuch a *mortification*, as by its *viſibility* and example will render it more uſeful to the world. But however, the *readers* of theſe *papers* need not be in pain of being overcharged with ſo dull and ungrateful a ſubject. And yet who knows, but ſuch an occaſion may be offered to us once in a year or two, after we have ſettled a correſpondence round the *kingdom*.

But after all our boaſts of *materials* ſent us by our ſeveral *emiſſaries*, we may probably ſoon fall ſhort, if the town will not be pleaſed to lend us further aſſiſtance towards entertaining itſelf. The *world* beſt knows its own *faults* and *virtues*, and whatever is ſent ſhall be faithfully returned back, only a little embelliſhed according to the cuſtom of AUTHORS. We do therefore *demand* and *expect* continual *advertiſements* in great numbers to be ſent to the PRINTER of this *paper*, who hath employed a *judicious ſecretary* to collect ſuch as may be moſt uſeful for the *public*.

And although we do not intend to expoſe our own perſons by mentioning names, yet we are ſo far from requiring the ſame caution in our *correſpondents*, that, on the contrary, we expreſsly *charge* and *command* them, in all the facts they ſend us, to ſet down the names, titles, and places of abode at length; together with a very particular deſcription of the *perſons*, *dreſſes*, *diſpoſitions* of the ſeveral *lords*, *ladies*, *'ſquires*, *madams*, *lawyers*, *gameſters*, *toupees*, *ſots*, *wits*, *rakes*, and *informers*, whom they ſhall have occaſion to mention; otherwiſe it will not be poſſible for us to adjuſt our ſtyle to the different qualities and capacities of the perſons concerned, and treat them with the *reſpect* or *familiarity*, that may be due to

their

their *ſtations* and *characters*, which we are determine obſerve with the utmoſt ſtrictneſs, that none may cauſe to complain.

NUMBER III.

Ipſe per omnes
Ibit perſonas, et turbam reddet in unam.

THE *players* having now almoſt done with th medy called the *Beggar's Opera* for the ſeaſo may be no unpleaſant ſpeculation, to reflect a little this *dramatic piece*, ſo ſingular in the ſubject and ma ſo much an original, and which hath frequently giv very agreeable an entertainment *.

Although an evil taſte be very apt to prevail, both and in London; yet there is a point, which whoeve rightly touch will never fail of pleaſing a very grea jority; ſo great, that the diſſikers, out of dulneſs or tation, will be ſilent, and forced to fall in with the the point I mean, is what we call *humour*; which perfection is allowed to be much preferable to *wi* it be not rather the moſt uſeful and agreeable ſpecies

I agree with Sir William Temple, that the word culiar to our Engliſh *tongue*; but I differ from him opinion, that the thing itſelf is peculiar to the E *nation*, becauſe the contrary may be found in many niſh, Italian, and French productions: and particu whoever hath a *taſte* for *true humour* will find an dred inſtances of it in thoſe volumes printed in France the name of *Le Theatre Italien*; to ſay nothing of R lais, Cervantes, and many others.

Now, I take the *comedy* or *farce* (or whatever the *critics* will allow it) called the *Beggar's Opera* t cel in this article of *humour*; and upon that me have met with ſuch prodigious ſucceſs, both here a England.

As to *poetry*, *eloquence*, and *muſic*, which are ſ

* See letters to and from Dr Swift, vol. 8.

ve moſt power over the minds of men; it is certain that ry few have a *taſte* or *judgment* of the excellencies of e two former; and if a man ſucceed in either, it is up- the authority of thoſe *few judges*, that lend their *taſte* the bulk of readers, who have none of their own. I n told there are as few good judges in *muſic*; and that nong thoſe who croud the *operas*, nine in ten go thither erely out of *curioſity*, *faſhion*, or *affectation*.

But a *taſte* for *humour* is in ſome manner fixed to the ry nature of man, and generally obvious to the vulgar, xcept upon ſubjects too refined, and ſuperior to their un- erſtanding.

And as this *taſte* of *humour* is purely natural, ſo is *umour* itſelf; neither is it a *talent* confined to men of *wit* or *learning*; for we obſerve it ſometimes among ommon ſervants, and the meaneſt of the people, while he very owners are often ignorant of the gift they poſ- eſs.

I know very well, that this happy *talent* is contemp- ibly treated by *critics* under the name of *low humour*, r *low comedy*; but I know likewiſe that the Spaniards nd Italians, who are allowed to have the moſt wit of ny nations in Europe, do moſt excel in it, and do moſt ſteem it.

By what diſpoſition of the mind, what influence of the lars, or what ſituation of the *climate*, this endowment is eſtowed upon mankind, may be a queſtion fit for *philoſo- hers* to diſcuſs. It is certainly the beſt ingredient to- vards that kind of ſatire, which is moſt uſeful, and gives he leaſt offence; which, inſtead of laſhing, laughs men ut of their follies and vices; and is the character that ives Horace the preference to Juvenal.

And although ſome things are too ſerious, ſolemn, or acred to be turned into ridicule, yet the abuſes of them re certainly not; ſince it is allowed that corruptions in *religion*, *politics*, and *law*, may be proper *topics* for this kind of *ſatire*.

There are two ends that men propoſe in writing ſa- tire: one of them leſs noble than the other, as regarding *nothing further* than the private ſatisfaction and pleaſure *of the writer*; but without any view towards perſonal malice

malice: the other is a *public ſpirit*, prompting men of *genius* and virtue to mend the world as far as they are able. And as both theſe ends are innocent, ſo the latter is highly commendable. With regard to the former I demand whether I have not as good a title to laugh as men have to be ridiculous; and to expoſe vice, as another hath to be vitious. If I ridicule the follies and corruptions of a *court* a *miniſtry*, or a *ſenate*, are they not amply paid by *penſions*, *titles*, and *power*, while I expect and deſire no other reward, than that of laughing with a few friends in a corner? yet if thoſe who take offence, think me in the wrong, I am ready to change the ſcene with them whenever they pleaſe.

But if my deſign be to make mankind better, then I think it is my duty; at leaſt, I am ſure it is the intereſt of thoſe very *courts* and *miniſters*, whoſe follies or vices I ridicule, to reward me for my good intentions: for if it be reckoned a high point of wiſdom to get the laugher on our ſide, it is much more eaſy, as well as wiſe, to get thoſe on our ſide, who can make millions laugh when they pleaſe.

My reaſon for mentioning *courts* and *miniſters*, (*which I never think on but with the moſt profound veneration*) is, becauſe an opinion obtains, that in the Beggar's Opera there appears to be ſome reflection upon *courtiers* and *ſtateſmen*, whereof I am by no means a judge.

It is true indeed, that Mr GAY, the author of this piece hath been ſomewhat ſingular in the courſe of his fortunes for it hath happened, that after fourteen years attending the *court*, with a large ſtock of real merit, a modeſt and agreeable converſation, a *hundred promiſes*, and *five hundred friends*, he hath failed of preferment; and upon very weighty reaſon. He lay under the ſuſpicion of having written a libel or lampoon againſt a great miniſter *. It is true, that great miniſter was demonſtratively convinced and publicly owned his conviction, that Mr GAY was not the author; but having lain under the ſuſpicion, it ſeems very juſt that he ſhould ſuffer the puniſhment; becauſe in this moſt reformed age, the virtues of a prime miniſter

* Sir Robert Walpole, afterwards Earl of Orford.

re no more to be ſuſpected, than the chaſtity of Cæſar's wife.

It muſt be allowed, that the Beggar's Opera is not the firſt of Mr GAY's works, wherein he hath been faulty with egard to *courtiers* and *ſtateſmen*. For to omit his other ieces; even in his fables, publiſhed within two years paſt, nd dedicated to the Duke of CUMBERLAND, for which ie was promiſed a reward, he hath been thought ſomewhat too bold upon the *courtiers*. And although it be highly probable he meant only the courtiers of former times, yet he acted unwarily, by not conſidering, that the malignity of ſome people might miſinterpret what he ſaid to the diſadvantage of preſent *perſons* and affairs.

But I have now done with Mr GAY as a politician; and ſhall conſider him henceforward only as author of the Beggar's Opera, wherein he hath, by a turn of *humour*, entirely new, placed vices of all kinds in the ſtrongeſt and moſt odious light; and thereby done eminent ſervice both to *religion* and *morality*. This appears from the unparallelled ſucceſs he hath met with. All *ranks*, *parties*, and *denominations* of men either crouding to ſee his *opera*, or reading it with delight in their cloſets; even miniſters of ſtate, whom he is thought to have moſt offended, (next to thoſe whom the actors repreſent), appearing frequently at the *theatre*, from a conſciouſneſs of their own innocence, and to convince the world how unjuſt a parallel *malice*, *envy*, and *diſaffection to the goverment* have made.

I am aſſured that ſeveral worthy *clergymen* in this *city* went privately to ſee the Beggar's Opera repreſented; and that the *fleering coxcomb* in the *pit* amuſed themſelves with making diſcoveries, and ſpreading the names of thoſe gentlemen round the audience.

I ſhall not pretend to vindicate a *clergyman* who would appear openly in his habit at a *theatre* with ſuch a vitious crew as might probably ſtand round him, at ſuch *comedies* and profane *tragedies* as are often repreſented. Beſides, I know very well, that perſons of their function are bound to avoid the appearance of evil, or of giving cauſe of *offence*. But when the Lords Chancellors, who are keepers of the King's conſcience; when the judges of the land, whoſe title is *reverend*; when ladies, who are

bound by the rules of their ſex to the ſtricteſt decency, appear in the *theatre* without cenſure; I cannot underſtand, why a young *clergyman*, who comes concealed out of curioſity to ſee an innocent and moral play, ſhould be ſo highly condemned: nor do I much approve the rigour of a great prelate, who ſaid, *he hoped none of his clergy were there*. I am glad to hear there are no weightier objections againſt that reverend body planted in this city, and I wiſh there never may. But I ſhould be very ſorry that any of them ſhould be ſo weak, as to imitate a *court-chaplain* in ENGLAND, who preached againſt the Beggar's Opera, which will probably do more good, than a thouſand ſermons of ſo ſtupid, ſo injudicious, and ſo proſtitute a divine *.

In this happy performance of Mr GAY's all the characters are juſt, and none of them carried beyond nature, or hardly beyond practice. It diſcovers the whole ſyſtem of that commonwealth, or that *imperium in imperio* of iniquity eſtabliſhed among us, by which neither our lives or our properties are ſecure, either in the highways, or in public aſſemblies, or even in our own houſes. It ſhews the miſerable lives, and the conſtant fate of thoſe abandoned wretches: for how little they ſell their lives and ſouls; betrayed by their *whores*, their *comrades*, and the *receivers* and *purchaſers* of thoſe thefts and robberies. This *comedy* contains likewiſe a *ſatire*, which, without inquiring whether it affects the preſent age, may poſſibly be uſeful in times to come. I mean, where the author takes the occaſion of comparing thoſe *common robbers of the public*, and their ſeveral ſtratagems of betraying, undermining, and hanging each other, to the ſeveral arts of *politicians* in times of corruption.

This *comedy* likewiſe expoſeth, with great juſtice, that unnatural taſte for Italian muſic among us, which is wholly unſuitable to our northern *climate* and the genius of the people, whereby we are over-run with the Italian *effeminacy*, and Italian nonſenſe. An old gentleman ſaid to me,

* Dr Thomas Heron, chaplain to the ſociety at Lincoln's inn, afterwards Biſhop of Bangor, after that Archbiſhop of York, and now Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

that many years ago, when the practice of an unnatural vice grew frequent in London, and many were profecuted for it, he was ſure it would be the forerunner of Italian operas and ſingers; and then we ſhould want nothing but ſtabbing, or poiſoning, to make us perfect Italians.

Upon the whole, I deliver my judgment, that nothing but ſervile attachment to a party, affectation of ſingularity, lamentable dulneſs, miſtaken zeal, or ſtudied hypocriſy, can have the leaſt reaſonable objection againſt this excellent moral performance of the *celebrated* Mr GAY.

NUMBER XV*.

LAMENTATIONS ii. 19.

Ariſe, cry out in the night; in the beginning of the watches pour out thine heart like water before the face of the Lord; lift up thy hands towards him, for the life of thy young children, that faint for hunger in the top of every ſtreet.

I Remember to have read an account, that an ode which Pindar writ in honour of the iſland Delos, was inſcribed in the temple of Minerva at Athens, in large letters of gold. A public and very laudable acknowledgment for the poet's ingenuity, and for no more than a bare compliment! Such was the encouragement given by the great and public-ſpirited Athenians. Had the ſame poet, inſpired by a noble and heroic ardour, by another ode awakened and rouſed their whole ſtate againſt an invading enemy, or opened their eyes againſt any ſecret and wicked contrivers of their deſtruction, they would have erected him a ſtatue at leaſt. But, alas! that ſpirit is fled from the world, and long ſince neglected. Virtue is become her own paymaſter. My countrymen, I hope, will forgive me, if I complain there has been ſo little notice taken of a

* *See above, p. 359. in the notes.*

ſmall, but moſt excellent pamphlet, written by the DRAPIER. It is intitled, A SHORT VIEW OF THE STATE OF IRELAND [above, p. 168.]. There never was any treatiſe yet publiſhed, with a zeal more generous for the univerſal good of a nation, or a deſign more ſeaſonable, conſidering our preſent lamentable condition: yet we liſten not to the voice of the charmer. Whereas it ſhould have been inſcribed in capital letters, (as glorious as thoſe of the poet), in the moſt public part of every corporation-town through this whole kingdom, that people might behold the ſeveral unprovoked cauſes of their poverty, our offences towards heaven excepted. Nay, I will proceed farther, and ſay, that every head of every family ought to inſtruct his children ſo far in this moſt *incomparable pamphlet*, that they ſhould not only underſtand, but be able to repeat by heart every ſingle paragraph through the whole. This was the method laid down by the wiſeſt lawgiver that ever the world produced, to gain the hearts of the people, by working upon their memories: Deut. vi. 7. 8. 9. *And thou ſhalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and ſhalt talk of them when thou ſitteſt in thine houſe, and when thou walkeſt by the way, and when thou lieſt down, and when thou riſeſt up. And thou ſhalt bind them for a ſign upon thine hand, and they ſhall be as frontlets between thine eyes. And thou ſhalt write them upon the poſts of thy houſe, and on thy gates.*

And where would be the great trouble, ſince we have little elſe to do, if every man would read a lecture of the *ſhort view* every day in his family, after reading prayers? Nor do I think the expenſe would be extravagant, if he ſhould have every page of it reprinted, to be hung up in frames in every chamber of his houſe; that it might be as evident as the *hand-writing on the wall.*

And ſince I have ventured thus far to praiſe and recommend this moſt inimitable piece, let me ſpeak a few words in favour of its AUTHOR.

I would propoſe to my countrymen before all their money goes off, (it is going as faſt as poſſible), to convert it *into* a few ſtatues to the DRAPIER in thoſe memorable parts of this kingdom, where our heroes have ſhone with the greateſt luſtre in defence of our liberty, and the PROTESTAN

RELIGI

RELIGION over all Europe; at DERRY, at ENNISKILLEN, at BOYNE, at AUGHRIM. Nor would it be amiſs to ſet up a few more about our METROPOLIS, with that glorious inſcription, LIBERTAS ET NATALE SOLUM.

If our money were metamorphoſed upon ſuch a good occaſion as this, it would not be in the power of any Cypſelas *, to get it into his own coffers; and it would be the only method to prevent its being carried off, except our viceroys ſhould act like the Roman prefects, and run away with our very ſtatues.

Courteous reader, mark well what follows.

"I am aſſured, that it hath for ſome time been practiſed," *&c.* [Here *the ſhort view of the ſtate of Ireland*, above, p. 168. was inſerted *verbatim*].

NUMBER XIX.

Sic vos non vobis vellera fertis, oves.

[N. B. In the following diſcourſe the author perſonates a country-gentleman in the north of Ireland. And this letter is ſuppoſed as directed to the Drapier.]

HAving, on the 12th of October laſt, received a letter, ſigned ANDREW DEALER, and PATRICK PENNYLESS, I believe the following paper, juſt come to my hands, will be a ſufficient anſwer to it.

SIR,

I AM a country-gentleman, and a member of *parliament*, with an eſtate of about 1400 *l.* a-year; which, as a *northern* landlord, I receive from above two hundred tenants: and my lands having been let near twenty

* Cypſelus, a governor of Corinth, who contrived a tax which brought all the money of that ſtate to himſelf in ten years time. *Ariſt. Polit.*

years ago, the rents, until very lately, were eſteen be not above half-value; yet, by the intolerable fc of *ſilver*, I lie under the greateſt difficulties in rec them, as well as in paying my labourers, or buyi thing neceſſary for my family from *tradeſmen*, w not able to be long out of their *money*. But the ſuf of me, and thoſe of my rank, are trifles in com of what the meaner ſort undergo; ſuch as the *buye ſellers* at *fairs* and *markets*; the *ſhopkeepers* in *town*; the *farmers* in general; all thoſe who trave *fiſh*, *poultry*, *pedlary-ware*, and other convenien ſell: but more eſpecially *handicraſtſmen*, who wc us by the day; and common labourers, whom I h ready mentioned. Both theſe kind of people I a ced to employ until their wages amount to a *double* or a *moidore*, (for we hardly have any gold of lov lue left us), to divide it among themſelves as they ca this is generally done at an *alehouſe* or *brandyſhop*; beſides the coſt of getting drunk, (which is uſua caſe), they muſt pay *ten pence* or a *ſhilling* for ging their *piece* into *ſilver* to ſome *huckſtering fello* follows that trade. But, what is infinitely worſe poor men, for want of due payment, are forced to their *oatmeal* and other neceſſaries of life at almoſt value; and conſequently are not able to diſchar their ſcore, eſpecially under the ſcarceneſs of *corn* years paſt, and the melancholy diſappointment of t ſent *crop*.

The cauſes of this, and a thouſand other ev clear and manifeſt to you and all thinking men, a hidden from the vulgar. Theſe indeed complain times, the dearth of corn, the want of money, t neſs of ſeaſons; that their goods bear no price, poor cannot find work; but their weak reaſoning carry them to the hatred and contempt borne us neighbours and brethren, without the leaſt ground vocation, who rejoice at our ſufferings, althoug times to their own diſadvantage. They conſider dead weight upon every beneficial branch of our that half our revenues are annually ſent to Engla many other grievances peculiar to this unhappy

which keeps us from enjoying the common benefits of mankind; as you and ſome other lovers of their country have ſo often obſerved with ſuch good inclinations, and ſo little effect.

It is true indeed, that under our circumſtances in general this complaint for the want of *ſilver* may appear as ridiculous, as for a man to be impatient about a *cut finger*, when he is ſtruck with the *plague*: and yet a poor fellow going to the gallows may be allowed to feel the ſmart of waſps, while he is upon Tyburn road. This misfortune is ſo urging, and vexatious in every kind of ſmall traffic, and ſo hourly preſſing upon all perſons in the country whatſoever, that a hundred inconveniencies of perhaps greater moment in themſelves have been tamely ſubmitted to with far leſs diſquietude and murmurs. And the caſe ſeems yet the harder, if it be true, what many ſkilful men aſſert, that nothing is more eaſy than a remedy; and that the want of *ſilver*, in proportion to the little *gold* remaining among us, is altogether as unneceſſary, as it is inconvenient. A perſon of diſtinction aſſured me very lately, that, in diſcourſing with the *Lord Lieutenant* * before his laſt return to England, his *Excellency* ſaid, *He had preſſed the matter often, in proper time and place, and to proper perſons; and could not ſee any difficulty of the leaſt moment, that could prevent us from being made eaſy upon this article.*

Whoever carries to England twenty-ſeven Engliſh ſhillings, and brings back one *moidore* of full weight, is a gainer of nine pence Iriſh: in a *guinea*, the advantage is threepence; and two pence in a *piſtole*. The BANKERS, who are generally maſters of all our *gold* and *ſilver* with this advantage, have ſent over as much of the latter, as came into their hands. The value of one thouſand *moidores* in *ſilver* would thus amount in clear profit to 37 *l.* 10 *s.* The *ſhopkeepers*, and other *traders*, who go to London to buy goods, followed the ſame practice; by which we have been driven into this inſupportable diſtreſs.

To a common thinker it ſhould ſeem, that nothing would be more eaſy, than for the government to retrieve

* The Lord Carteret.

this evil, at any time they ſhall pleaſe. When the value of *guineas* was lowered in England from 21 *s.* and 6 *d.* to only 21 *s.* the conſequences to this kingdom were obvious, and manifeſt to us all: and a ſober man may be allowed at leaſt to wonder, although he dare not complain, why a new regulation of coin among us was not then made; much more, why it hath never been ſince. It would ſurely require no very profound ſkill in algebra to reduce the difference of *nine pence* in *thirty ſhillings*, or *three pence* in a *guinea* to leſs than a *farthing*; and ſo ſmall a fraction could be no temptation either to *bankers*, to hazard their *ſilver* at ſea, or tradeſmen to load themſelves with it in their journeys to England. In my humble opinion, it would be no unſeaſonable condeſcenſion, if the *government* would graciouſly pleaſe to ſignify to the *poor loyal Proteſtant ſubjects* of Ireland, either that this miſerable want of *ſilver* is not poſſible to be remedied in any degree by the niceſt ſkill in arithmetic; or elſe, that it doth not ſtand with the good pleaſure of England, to ſuffer any *ſilver* at all among us. In the former caſe, it would be madneſs to expect impoſſibilities; and in the other, we muſt ſubmit: for lives and fortunes are always at the mercy of the CONQUEROR.

The queſtion hath been often put in *printed papers*, by the DRAPIER and others, or perhaps by the ſame WRITER under different ſtyles, why this kingdom ſhould not be permitted to have a *mint* of its own for the coinage of *gold*, *ſilver*, and *copper*; which is a power exerciſed by many *biſhops*, and every petty prince in Germany? But this queſtion hath never been anſwered; nor the leaſt application, that I have heard of, made to the *crown* from hence for the grant of a *public mint*; although it ſtands upon record, that ſeveral cities and corporations here had the liberty of *coining ſilver*. I can ſee no reaſons why we alone, of all nations, are thus reſtrained, but ſuch as I dare not mention: only thus far I may venture, that Ireland is the firſt imperial kingdom ſince Nimrod, which ever wanted power to *coin* their own *money*.

I know very well, that in England it is lawful for any *ſubject* to petition either the prince or the parliament, provided it be done in a dutiful and regular manner: but

what is lawful for a ſubject of Ireland, I profeſs I cannot determine: nor will undertake, that the *printer* ſhall not be proſecuted in a *court of juſtice* for publiſhing my *wiſhes*, that a poor ſhopkeeper might be able to change a *guinea* or a *moidore*, when a cuſtomer comes for a *crown*'s worth of goods. I have known leſs crimes puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity, under the title of *diſaffection*. And I cannot but approve the wiſdom of the *ancients*, who, after Aſtrea had fled from the earth, at leaſt took care to provide *three upright judges for hell*. Mens ears among us are indeed grown ſo nice, that whoever happens to think out of faſhion, in what relates to the welfare of this kingdom, dare not ſo much as complain of the *tocthach*, leſt our weak and buſy dabblers in politics ſhould be ready to ſwear againſt him for *diſaffection*.

There was a method practiſed by Sir Ambroſe Crawley, the great dealer in *iron-works*, which I wonder the gentlemen of our country under this great exigence have not thought fit to imitate. In the ſeveral towns and villages where he dealt, and many miles round, he gave *notes* inſtead of *money* (from *two pence* to *twenty ſhillings*), which paſſed current in all ſhops and markets, as well as in houſes, where meat or drink was ſold. I ſee no reaſon why the like practice may not be introduced among us with ſome degree of ſucceſs; or at leaſt may not ſerve as a poor expedient in this our *bleſſed age of paper*; which, as it diſchargeth all our greateſt payments, may be equally uſeful in the ſmaller, and may juſt keep us alive until an Engliſh *act of parliament ſhall forbid it*.

I have been told, that among ſome of our poorer American colonies upon the continent, the people enjoy the liberty of cutting the little *money* among them into halves and quarters for the conveniencies of ſmall traffic. How happy ſhould we be in compariſon of our preſent condition, if the like privilege were granted to us of employing the ſheers, for want of a *mint*, upon our *foreign gold*, by clipping it into *half-crowns* and *ſhillings*, and even lower denominations; for beggars muſt be content to live upon ſcraps; and it would be our felicity, that theſe ſcraps could never be *exported* to other countries, while any thing better was left.

If neither of theſe projects will avail, I ſee nothin us but to truck and barter our goods like the *wild* I with each other, or with our too powerful neighb only with this diſadvantage on our ſide, that the I enjoy the product of their own land; whereas the half of ours is ſent away, without ſo much as a r penſe in *bugles* or *glaſs* in return.

It muſt needs be a very comfortable circumſtance preſent juncture, that ſome thouſand families are are going, or preparing to go from hence and ſettle ſelves in America: the poorer ſort for want of work farmers, whoſe beneficial bargains are now become a rent too hard to be borne, and thoſe who have any *money*, or can purchaſe any by the ſale of their go leaſes, becauſe they find their fortunes hourly dec that their goods will bear no price, and that few or have any *money* to buy the very neceſſaries of life, a ſtening to follow their departed neighbours. It is *corn* among us carries a very high price; but it is f ſame reaſon, that *rats*, and *cats*, and dead *horſes* hav often bought for *gold* in a town beſieged.

There is a perſon of quality in my neighbourhood twenty years ago, when he was juſt come to age, unexperienced and of a generous temper, let his lands as times went then, at a low rate to able tenants; an ſequently by the riſe of land ſince that time looked his eſtate to be ſet at half-value: but numbers of th nants or their deſcendents are now offering to ſell leaſes by cant *, even thoſe which were for lives, ſo them renewable for ever, and ſome fee-farms, whi landlord himſelf hath bought in at half the price would have yielded ſeven years ago. And ſome lea at the ſame time for lives have been given up to him out any conſideration at all.

This is the moſt favourable face of all things at p among us; I ſay, among us of the north, who are e ed the only thriving people of the kingdom. And ho and how ſoon this miſery and deſolation may ſpread, i to foreſee.

The vaſt ſums of *money* daily carried off by our

* Cant or auction.

.dventurers to America, have deprived us of our *gold* ſe parts, almoſt as much as of our *ſilver*. And the wives who come to our houſes offer us their pieces :n, upon which their whole dependence lies, for ſo profit, that it can neither half-pay their rents, nor ıpport their families.

s remarkable, that this enthuſiaſm ſpread among our ern people, of ſheltering themſelves in the continent nerica, hath no other foundation than their preſent ›ortable condition at home. I have made all poſſible ies to learn what encouragement our people have met by any intelligence from thoſe plantations, ſufficient ke them undertake ſo tedious and hazardous a voyage, ſeaſons of the year, and ſo ill accommodated in their that many of them have died miſerably in their paſ- but could never get one ſatisfactory anſwer. Some- they know not who, had written a letter to his or couſin from thence, inviting him by all means to over; that it was a fine fruitful country, and to be for ever at a *penny* an acre. But the truth of the fact : The Engliſh eſtabliſhed in thoſe colonies are in great of men to inhabit that tract of ground, which lies en them and the *wild* Indians, who are not reduced their dominion. We read of ſome barbarous people, ı the Romans placed in their army for no other ſervice to blunt their enemies ſwords, and afterwards to fill enches with their dead bodies. And thus our people, tranſport themſelves, are ſettled in thoſe interjacent , as a ſcreen againſt the inſults of the *ſavages;* and ıave as much lands as they can clear from the woods ery reaſonable rate, if they can afford to pay about a *red* years purchaſe by their labour. Now, beſides the reaſon *, which inclines all thoſe who have already red thither to repreſent every thing in a falſe light, as for juſtifying their own conduct, as for getting com- ns in their miſery, the governing people in thoſe plan- ıs have alſo wiſely provided, that no letters ſhall be ed to paſs from thence hither without being firſt d by the council; by which our people here are

he fox who, having loſt his tail, would have perſuaded t to cut off theirs.

wholly

wholly deceived in the opinions they have of the happy condition of their friends gone before them. This was accidentally diſcovered ſome months ago by an honeſt man, who having tranſported himſelf and family thither, and finding all things directly contrary to his hope, had the luck to convey a private note by a faithful hand to his relation here, intreating him not to think of ſuch a voyage, and to diſcourage all his friends from attempting it. Yet this, although it be a truth well known, hath produced very little effect; which is no manner of wonder: for as it is natural to a man in a *fever* to turn often, although without any hope of eaſe; or when he is purſued, to leap down a precipice to avoid an enemy juſt at his back; ſo men in the extremeſt degree of miſery and want will naturally fly to the firſt appearance of relief, let it be ever ſo vain or viſionary.

You may obſerve, that I have very ſuperficially touched the ſubject I began with, and with the utmoſt caution; for I know how criminal the leaſt complaint hath been thought, however ſeaſonable, or juſt or honeſtly intended, which hath forced me to offer up my daily prayers, that it may never, at leaſt in my time, be interpreted by innuendoes as a falſe, ſcandalous, ſeditious, and diſaffected action for a man to roar under an acute fit of the *gout*; which, beſides the loſs and the danger, would be very inconvenient to one of my age, ſo ſeverely afflicted with that diſtemper.

I wiſh you good ſucceſs, but I can promiſe you little, in an ungrateful office you have taken up without the leaſt view either to reputation or profit. Perhaps your comfort is, that none but *villains* and *betrayers* of their country can be your *enemies*. Upon which I have little to ſay, having not the honour to be acquainted with many of that ſort; and therefore, as you may eaſily believe, am compelled to lead a very retired life.

I am, SIR,

Your moſt obedient

Humble ſervant,

A. NORTH.

County of Down,
Dec. 2. 1728.

REMA

REMARKS on Dr SWIFT's TRACTS relating to IRELAND.

Taken from Mr DEAN SWIFT's ESSAY.

These tracts may, for any thing I know to the contrary, be thought local and temporary; and perhaps for that reason may chance to be neglected by succeeding generations; which happens to be the fate of almost all other points of history, excepting those only which are stiffly supported by the clamour and virulence of contending parties, according to their several views and interests in the commonwealth. But as the writings of Dr Swift, and particularly the *Drapier's letters*, are founded on the secure basis of the laws of his country, and supported throughout the whole with the warmest zeal for liberty, they will for ever command the veneration of those who are not unworthy to enjoy the blessings of our constitution. For although it be a truth scarce ever regarded, the subject matter which happens to give rise to any political treatise whatsoever is but of little consequence; that spirit which is conveyed in the writings of a patriot, who is equally faithful to his King and country, being that alone which improveth our faculties, and therefore hath a claim to all the deepest of our attention, let what age or nation soever boast of the honour of his genius. But if the inhabitants of these nations, and particularly the people of Ireland, will continue to be like the deaf adder, which refuseth to hear the voice of the charmer; charm he never so wisely; the time may come, when, for want of a patriot inspired like Dr Swift to apprise them of their danger, they may be doomed to chains and slavery, by the contrivance of some wicked impostor that may lie in wait for their destruction. Consider therefore, ye sons of Ireland, what hardships had like to have been inflicted upon your wise, your courageous patriot; consider what persecutions were set on foot against him by slaves and wretches, for no other crime but that of defending your liberties, or rather indeed for maintaining the very existence of your country, against one vile insignificant mechanic. Think not because that evil day is past, that in the womb of time there cannot be any further projects to undermine your liberties. Have ye not seen pretended patriots of late years, which have prostituted their impious pens to serve the vilest purposes? But thanks be to God! their writings have perished, and their names are universally pronounced with abhorrence, contempt, and execration. Read therefore and imbibe the political principles of Dr Swift; ingrave them on the tablet of your hearts; teach them unto your childrens children; and above all things remember to fix an indelible mark of infamy *upon those men* who by their words, their actions, and other *wicked insinuating* artifices, endeavour to sap the vitals of your liberty. For be assured, that in the day of trial they will ap-

prove themſelves to their maſters to be corrupted ſlaves and traitors to their country.

As to the piece intitled, *A ſhort view of the ſtate of Ireland, written in* 1727, [above, p. 168.], I cannot but declare myſelf heartily ſorry, that I am forced to diſagree with Lord Orrery with regard to his critic on it [above, p. 175.] For ſurely among all the pleaſures and delights which have any reſpect unto this habitable world, there can be none more generous, more intellectual, and more divine, than to rejoice in the proſperity of our country. But alas! the miſeries of Ireland being the effects of a thouſand cauſes, are, I am afraid, incurable. At leaſt all remedies but one (which is aboliſhing the uſe of gold and ſilver out of the whole community; a ſcheme too philoſophical, and perhaps too chimerical for ſo corrupted an age to reduce into practice) appear to be ſo exceedingly deſperate, that I verily believe it would require a legiſlator equal to the conductor of the Iſraelites out of the land of Egypt, to make them a rich and flouriſhing people, notwithſtanding the fertility of their ſoil, and the temperature of their climate.

I wonder that any man could poſſibly reſide for the greater part of eighteen years in Ireland, without remarking to his infinite regret, that no people in the Chriſtian world are ſo deſtitute of raiment, food, and all the conveniencies of life, as the inhabitants of that wretched kingdom, notwithſtanding that by God and nature it is perhaps the moſt favoured of any country upon earth. *Optima natio, peſſima gens*, was, I remember, Dr Swift's periphraſis for Ireland, whenever his patriot indignation was raiſed againſt the abſurdity of their conduct and politics.

In the *ſhort view* the Doctor enumerates fourteen cauſes of any country's flouriſhing and growing rich, and then examines what effects ariſe from theſe cauſes in Ireland. I am well convinced, that ſome few alterations have taken place ſince 1727. But whether in fact theſe alterations have at all contributed to the intereſt of the weal public; or whether it appears they have had the leaſt effect towards baniſhing complaining from our ſtreets, is at preſent one of the points to be conſidered; and the other is, how far the remarks of Dr Swift are equally true at this day as they were in 1727.

I cannot but inſiſt upon it, that Ireland, with regard to twelve articles out of the fourteen is juſt in the ſame condition, and labours under the ſame diſadvantages, this preſent year 1754, as it did in the year 1727.

With reſpect to the ſeventh article [above, p. 169. 171.] which concerns the improvement of land, and the encouragement of agriculture, Ireland is by far in a worſe ſituation at preſent than it was in 1727, notwithſtanding many appearances to the c

rary. For although it be certain that great improvements, nd particularly the fineſt roads perhaps in the world, have een made ſince that epoch, flocks and herds have been only hereby multiplied. And although it be aſſerted by Lord Orery [above, p. 175.] that agriculture is cultivated [*i. e.* that ae culture of land is cultivated] in Ireland; the greater part f the huſbandmen, the labourers, and the poor, have, merely or the ſake of thoſe curſed cattle which are the bane of Ireand, been driven out of their wretched habitations, and baiſhed the country, helpleſs, naked, and forlorn; to rot, ſtarve, nd periſh in deſolate places, to the great diminution of the nhabitants.

And as to the fourteenth article [above, p. 167. 172.], the eople of Ireland, by their folly, their madneſs, their luxury, nd diſregard to all public intereſt, are by many degrees in a iore wretched condition than they were in 1727; the moſt ommon neceſſaries, even their corn, their ale, and their potaoes being, to the ſhame and confuſion of their politics, imported rom abroad, as well as their tea, their claret, and their ſpices.

As to the pamphlet intitled, *A modeſt propoſal*, &c. [above, . 323.], it is a humorous treatiſe, equally the product of deſpair nd benevolence; and ſeemeth to have been written in the bitterneſs of the Dean's ſoul, and principally addreſſed to the conideration of thoſe mercileſs tyrants which ſtarve and oppreſs heir fellow-creatures, even to the ſhame and deſtruction of heir country. His propoſal is, to fatten up the children of begars, cottagers, and farmers, as they do lambs and pigs for the arkets, and ſell their carcaſes to the rich; a food which he eclares to be *very proper for landlords*; who, as they have aleady devoured moſt of the parents, ſeem to have the beſt title o their children.

As to Dr Swift's political tracts relating to Ireland, wherein he rights of the clergy and the cauſe of Chriſtianity are exreſsly and immediately concerned, I ſhall only obſerve in geneal, that Swift, being a thorough maſter of politics, and, far beond all the wiſeſt of his contemporaries, deeply verſed in the iſtory of parties, could diſcover at a ſurpriſing diſtance the naural conſequences of thoſe efforts which had been frequently ade during the time he flouriſhed, to ſubvert our happy conitution both of church and ſtate; inſomuch that he appears, om a great variety of his tracts, to have been one of the moſt gacious watchmen that ever was known in the church of *hriſt. Swift.*

The End of the THIRD VOLUME.

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